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The Roman Index
and
Its Latest Historian

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The Roman Index

and

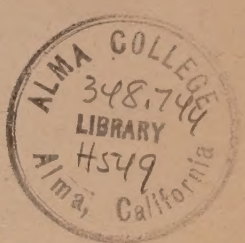
Its Latest Historian

A Critical Review of "The Censorship of the Church of Rome" by George Haven Putnam

By

JOSEPH HILGERS, S. J.

Reprinted from the CATHOLIC FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW,
with an Introductory Note by
ARTHUR PREUSS



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Introductory Note

The following paper appeared originally in the CATHOLIC FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.[1] It was written at my request by the learned author, whose large work, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*[2] *in seiner neuen Fassung dargelegt und rechtlich-historisch gewürdigt,* recently supplemented by a smaller but no less important volume, *Die Bücherverbote in Papstbriefen—Kanonistisch-bibliographische Studie,*[3] have deservedly obtained for him an international reputation as one of the "foremost specialists in the matter of forbidden books." Mr. Putnam himself calls the first-mentioned work a "scholarly and authoritative treatise" and "by far the most important statement that had come into print presenting the Church side of the questions at issue."[4] For the English translation I am responsible, though Father Hilgers has had the kindness to revise it after it had appeared in the REVIEW.

Mr. Putnam provoked this criticism himself. He pounced upon an *obiter dictum* that appeared in this REVIEW last year, with reference to his work, and gave me an epistolary scolding for pronouncing judgment upon *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* without having read it, at the same time offering me a copy for review. Of course I accepted the offer. Seeing the laudatory expressions the author had succeeded in extracting from Archbishop Ireland and others, I thought it well to give the work a thorough notice. Father Hilgers was the man to write this notice, and he kindly consented to do it. He has deserved the thanks of all truth-lovers and scholars,[5] and I hope I may modestly share in the credit due to the performance by issuing the critique in pamphlet form, so as to enable the lovers of truth to place it beside Putnam's two stately volumes as an ever-present antidote, especially in our public libraries.

ARTHUR PREUSS

Bridgeton, Mo., July 15, 1908.

[1] Vol. xv, Nos. 4 to 11 incl. (Feb. 15 to June 1, 1908).

[2] xxi & 638 pp. B. Herder. 1904. $3.25 net.

[3] viii & 107 pp. B. Herder. 1907. 95 cts. net.

[4] *Infra,* p. 5. Cfr. also *The Censorship of the Church of Rome,* I, x.

[5] Especially, of course, of Catholics, though this criticism is not written from the specifically Catholic point of view, but based on the rules of historical criticism. (See *infra,* p. 11.)

THE ROMAN INDEX AND ITS LATEST HISTORIAN

A Critical Review of "The Censorship of the Church of Rome by George Haven Putnam"

The Censorship of the Church of Rome and its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature. A Study of the History of the Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes, together with some Consideration of the Effects of Protestant Censorship and of Censorship by the State. By George Haven Putnam, Litt. D. Author of "Authors and their Public in Ancient Times," "Books and their Makers in the Middle Ages," "The Question of Copyright," "Authors and Publishers," etc. In two volumes. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. The Knickerbocker Press. 1906. 1907. (Per volume net $2.50.)

To judge from the press notices, Mr. Putnam's two volumes on *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* have been as favorably received by the press as were his previous works. Mr. Putnam himself sent out a publisher's circular announcing the second volume. This circular contains the following two recommendations, which are no doubt taken from private letters:

"A work of remarkable erudition..... I find it characterized by a rare large-mindedness and historic impartiality..... The book proves of much interest to scholars..... The subject has been treated in a masterly manner.—John Ireland, *Archbishop of Minnesota.*" [sic!]

"I wish to congratulate the author upon the singular wisdom, breadth, and thoroughness with which he has executed a most delicate and most difficult task.—Henry C. Potter, *Bishop of New York.*"

The *Litterarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland,* under date of November 23, 1907, (col. 1491 sq.) also reviewed Putnam's work favorably and recommended it to German readers:

"He [the author] is Litterarum Doctor, hence neither theologian nor canonist, which goes to explain certain errors in his present book. However, he not only utilizes the materials gathered by his predecessors, but has personally examined the greater number of the Indexes to which he refers..... Although the work is intended only for English readers, German readers too will find in it much instructive information, particularly at the present time when the question of the Index is again so prominently before the public."

Mr. Putnam himself has, by request of Mr. Arthur Preuss, sent me a copy of *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* for notice in the Catholic Fortnightly Review. In an accompanying letter he speaks as follows of my own work, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher,* B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1904:

"I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation for the service rendered in my investigation of the record of censorship by your own scholarly and authoritative treatise. This impressed me as by far the most important statement that had come into print presenting the Church side of the questions at issue. You will note that I have ventured to make in certain chapters in my own volume very considerable citations from your learned treatise."

This is quite complimentary. Nor have I the slightest reason to complain of the manner in which Mr. Putnam treats me in his work, either in those passages where he accepts my opinions, or in those in which he attempts to limit or refute them. Regardless of what I might have to reply to him on the various points involved, his treatment of me and my book is certainly not such as to move me to pronounce harsh judgment upon his own production.

I also note with gratification that Mr. Putnam's critical estimate of State government and non-Catholic censorship, especially Protestant, generally speaking, confirms my conclusions, and seems to be bottomed upon them.

I freely acknowledge, third, that Mr. Putnam personally strives to be impartial in judging the censorship of the Church of Rome; though I cannot help thinking that this fact is insisted upon a little too strongly by certain American and English reviewers of his work.

It may be objected that Mr. Putnam says plainly enough in his Preface, that he does not purpose to furnish an original contribution to the subject; that he pretends merely to summarize the writings of Mendham, Reusch, Kapp, and others; that he undertakes only to furnish English readers with an encyclopedic handbook of information and reference on the censorship of books, the Index, etc. It would surely have been worth while to prepare such a handbook of information and reference for English readers, provided it were based upon the most recent publications and were thoroughly reliable. Mr. Putnam's work unfortunately disappoints the expectations of the critical reader.

One who has even a superficial acquaintance with Reusch's two-volume work, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher,* to which our author in his Preface says he is "chiefly indebted," will not be slow to notice that Mr. Putnam has simply made copious extracts from this and several other works, or parts of them, and has collected these extracts in chapters according as it seemed to him that they belonged together. For the purposes of an encyclopedic handbook of information and reference this would be a proper method. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Putnam has not succeeded in mastering his subject, and the result is a "rudis indigestaque moles." The two volumes contain a

number of senseless and purposeless repetitions. Here and there it is plainly apparent that the author not only did not remember that he had treated the same subject on a previous page of his work, but even failed to perceive that he was treating the same subject. In a few instances he has even made two subjects out of one according to the sources which he happened to be using. I shall prove this further down.

It has already been pointed out by an American reviewer that *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* is disfigured by so many typographical errors that its chief purpose, of serving as a reference work, is thereby completely frustrated. Mr. Putnam has admitted the existence of these errors, and hence we might pass them over without further comment, were it not for the fact that our author, following the example of Reusch, harshly charges all the editors of the Roman Index, with the exception of those who got out the editio Leonina (published in 1900), with gross negligence in preparing their manuscripts, in their proof-reading, etc. Mr. Putnam, it pains us to be compelled to say, in the preparation of the present work has been more negligent than even the most careless of the Index editors. In fact his two volumes form an unintentional but brilliant vindication for the editors of the Roman Index, especially if one recalls that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not command that wealth of bibliographical resources which we have today, and that Mr. Putnam should have profited by the misfortune, which he ungenerously interprets as guilt, of the Index editors. Mr. Putnam's opinion of the editors of the Index is tersely expressed in a foot note on page 388 of his second volume, where we read: "....the Index of Leo [XIII] is the first which makes any attempt at bibliographical consistency or accuracy." It is not my fault if his own "bibliographical consistency or accuracy" will appear in an unenviable light in the course of this notice.

Mr. Putnam is guilty not only of inexcusable misprints and of "certain errors in his present book" which might be explained by the fact that he is merely a "Litterarum Doctor," and "neither theologian nor canonist;" but also of errors in church history and the history of civilization, including even contemporary history; of blunders with regard to the history of the Roman Indexes, including the very latest of Leo XIII; yea, even of blunders in bibliography.

Mr. Putnam opens his Preface with the remark: "....I have undertaken to present a record of the Indexes.... between the years 1546 (the date of the first list of prohibited books which may properly be described as an Index) and 1900, in which year was issued the second Index of Leo XIII, the latest in the papal series." Not one

of these statements appertaining to the history of the Index is correct. I am well aware of the fact that Reusch (I, 113 sq.) designates the Louvain catalog of forbidden books, (A. D. 1546), as the first Index properly so called, "with respect to its size and order of arrangement." However, if by Index we are to understand a list of books forbidden by ecclesiastical or State authority—and this is surely the proper definition of the term—then there existed several indexes before 1546. If, on the other hand, we take a list "which may properly be described as an Index" to mean one which also bears the name Index, then the first Index did not make its appearance till 1559 at Rome. Size and order of arrangement, however, do not appertain to the essence of an Index. As regards "the last [Index] in the papal series," Mr. Putnam's statement is still more curious. He evidently wishes to speak of the latest official edition of the Roman Index. Now this latest official edition was not issued in the year 1900, nor was it issued by Leo XIII; it was published in 1904 by order of Pius X.[1] Leo XIII issued the catalogue of forbidden books in a new and thoroughly revised edition—it is this which is properly called the Index of Leo XIII—for the first time in 1900, for the second time in 1901. Further down we shall have to recur to Mr. Putnam's description of the Indexes of Leo XIII.

Mr. Putnam's accuracy in matters bibliographical begins to shine forth in his Preface. He mentions as his principal source (p. vii) "Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher,* published in Bonn in 1885," and refers to it as a work of "three volumes." Heinrich Reusch: *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher,* is divided into *two* volumes, of which the first appeared in 1883, and the second, in two "Abteilungen," in 1885.

On pages xvii—xxv Mr. Putnam presents a "Bibliography—Works cited or referred to as authorities." Of this bibliography he says in the Preface (p. ix): "The titles of the works utilized or cited as authorities from which quotations have been made will be found in the bibliography. I have thought it desirable, for the convenience of later students of the subject, to include also in this bibliography the titles of certain other important works having to do with the subject of censorship, from which I did not have occasion or opportunity to make citations."

Upon examining the "Bibliography," we find that it contains no mention whatever of a large number of most important works which would not only be valuable to "later students of the subject," but which Mr. Putnam himself should plainly have enumerated and con-

[1] Another edition appeared only a few months ago, bearing date of 1907, but this edition Mr. Putnam could hardly have used, since his work came out about simultaneously.—A. P.

sulted. Secondly, the list shows a whole series of books which have no bearing whatever on the subject under consideration. Thirdly, Mr. Putnam has incorporated in his list a number of works from which, it is true, he makes citations, but which he most certainly has never examined. His text clearly shows that he frequently copied Reusch or some other author and gave the sources which he found cited there as his own sources, without knowing enough about them to transcribe even their titles correctly. Fourthly, the works listed in the "Bibliography" are not listed bibliographically—as a trained scholar would and should list them—and the titles are disfigured by the sorriest misprints. I will give a few examples.

The first title in Mr. Putnam's list reads thus:

"*Acta et Decreta Conciliorum recentiorum. Collectio Lucensis.* Rome, 1870—82."

It would be impossible to crowd more bibliographical blunders into a single line. The main title is wrongly stated. It is "Collectio Lacensis." The work was not published in Rome, but by Herder in Freiburg, Baden. It did not appear from 1870—1882, but from 1870—1890. Then, Mr. Putnam fails to give the number of volumes. There are seven of them.

It is a sin against the canons of bibliography to English the name of the place where a book was published, if the title page is in Latin or some other foreign language, though there would be no objection to adding the English translation in brackets. Mr. Putnam in one title translates Lugdunum (Lyon) by London; in another by Leyden.

The *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, Band I—XX nebst Register,* Leipzig 1878—1898, is quoted by him as follows: "*Arch. für Geschichte des Deutsch. Buchhandels.* 9 vols. Leipsic, 1878—84."

The *Annales ecclesiastici* of Baronius appear thus: "BARONIUS, C. *Annali* [sic!] *Ecclesiastici.* 12 vols. Rome, 1588—1607."

On page xviii we find the following entry: "*Bullarii* (to Clement XII). Luxemburg, 1727." Three lines further down appears this title: "*Bullarium Romanum.* Luxemburg, 1710." The *Magnum Bullarium Romanum* was published in Luxemburg (Gosse & Soc.) in nineteen folio volumes, from 1742—1758. The first volume had previously (in 1727) been issued by a different publisher (Chevalier). Besides the Luxemburg edition, that published at Turin in twenty-four volumes (from 1867—1872) should also have been mentioned, not to speak of certain other details, into which I cannot here enter.

Clemens, Claudius. Musei sive Bibliothecae tam privatae quam publicae Extructio.... Lugduni 1635, is cited by Mr. Putnam as

follows: "CLAUDE CLÉMENT. *Musei sive bibliotheca, extructio, instructio, cura usus,* etc. London, 1634." (The author's name was Claude Clément and he was a Jesuit.)

Raynaud, T. Erotemata etc. Lugduni 1653, Putnam transfers to Leyden—Lugdunum Batavorum! Under H he lists: "HARTZHEIM. *Geschichtliche Erörterung des Censur-Rechtes in der Erzd. Köln. Zts. f. Philos. u. Kath. Theol.*" In the body of his book (I, 78, n. 1) he cites "Hartzheim. *Podihomnus* [sic!] *Hist. Univ. Col.,* 8." It would be cruel to expatiate on this ludicrous blunder.

Conrad Gesner's well-known *Bibliotheca* is listed by Mr. Putnam thus: "GESNERO, CONRAD. *Bibliotheca Universalis.* Tig., 1545." The author of *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages* and other bibliographical works has not even examined the title of Gesner's famous *Bibliotheca.* He is unacquainted with the name of the author and unable to interpret the Latin ablative "authore Conrado Gesnero," while the "Tig." proves a veritable enigma to him. We find the key to the conundrum in Reusch, I, xii, where we read in the explanatory list of abbreviations: "G.—Bibliotheca universalis..... authore Conrado Gesnero. Tig. 1545." Putnam tried to copy this title. Tig., of course, is an abbreviation for Tiguri, from Tigurum —Zurich.

Mr. Putnam has been equally unfortunate in transcribing Reusch's references in several other entries of his bibliography. Thus we find under P: "PERRANTE. *La Morale des Jésuites extraite fidélement de leurs livres.* Mons, 1667." There is no such work, nor any French author by that name. The work to which Mr. Putnam desires to refer appeared anonymously, and Reusch, after quoting its title, added in brackets the name of the presumptive author (Perrault); Putnam out of this title evolves a new writer and a new book!

Reusch (II, 1064 sq.) lists a Spanish work with its full Spanish title and adds: "The book has also appeared in English, under the true name of the author: *The Inquisition unmasked, by D. Antonio Puigblanch, translated from the author's enlarged copy by W. Walton,* London, 1816, 2 vol. 4." Mr. Putnam tells us tersely and—falsely: "PUIGBLANCH, D. ANTONIO. *The Inquisition Unmasked.* Translated from the Italian. London, 1816."

These are only a few samples taken at random from Mr. Putnam's "Bibliography." In the course of this notice I shall have occasion to point out a number of still queerer bibliographical curiosities occurring in the body of his work. But it is already quite plain, I think, that Mr. Putnam has not even looked at the titles of a number of the most important source-books of his subject. A bibliographer of his stamp ought not to exclaim so loudly against the

ignorance of the Roman censors (I, 210 sq.) and the errors in the Index lists (II, 54 sq.). On page 55 of his second volume he says: "The Index lists are marvels of bibliographical inaccuracy..... More serious, however, than these bibliographical blunders, the responsibility for which rested in part at least with copyists or with compositors, were the errors which were undoubtedly due to editorial ignorance." If Mr. Putnam indulges in such harsh judgments, how shall the experts judge *him?!*

Can it be said in extenuation that he erred in good faith, since his "Bibliography" plainly shows that he is ignorant of Latin and does not understand German sufficiently to translate Reusch? No, we must protest against the conduct of a writer who, without sufficient knowledge of the Latin language, and with but a smattering at best of canon law and church history, without having examined at least the most important sources—a man who has not even understood the Roman Indexes which he has dipped into—ventures to write a scientific work on the censorship of the Church, the Index, and to pronounce critically upon the various historical and theological questions connected with this difficile subject.

II

Farther down I shall show that Mr. George Haven Putnam does not understand, and probably has not studied, even the Index of Leo XIII, which appeared for the first time in 1900, and in its latest edition is the only Index at present in force,—though he devotes many pages of his book to its description and discussion.

The London *Tablet* (August 3, 1907, p. 167) concludes a notice of Mr. Putnam's work *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* as follows:

"We have endeavored to point out the passages in this book in which its author has exhibited a spirit of fairness towards the Church, rather than those with which a Catholic would disagree; for there are such; and we shall hesitate to guarantee that his two large volumes, if submitted to the censorship of the Roman Inquisition, would escape notice in an interesting work of which he may possibly have heard, entitled 'Index librorum prohibitorum.'"

I do not think that the S. Congregation of the Index, or the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, if Mr. Putnam's work were brought to their notice, would give it as much attention as the *Tablet* intimates that it deserves. Scientific criticism will kill it. No competent scholar who examines Mr. Putnam's two volumes impartially and without prejudice, will hesitate to condemn it on purely scientific grounds.

True, Mr. Putnam does not do justice to the censorship of the

Church. But since he seems to relinquish all right of pronouncing a judgment of his own, the partiality of his book must be charged against those authors from whom he has chiefly drawn. Even Reusch, despite his scientific accuracy and enormous research, is but a partisan writer. His entire work *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* is anti-Roman in tendency, and in the second volume, which is thoroughly anti-Jesuitical and Jansenistic, he draws almost exclusively upon secondary sources which the objective critic cannot accept as reliable. This is still truer of Kapp, in those chapters of his work used by Mr. Putnam, while Mendham, for whose "vivacious treatise" our author has particular praise, must be classed as almost a fanatic. By gathering up from the writings of such authors not only data about the contents of the various Roman Indexes, but also estimates and criticisms, which now and then he ostentatiously undertakes to modify, Mr. Putnam creates the impression that it has been his endeavor to divide lights and shadows equitably,—which procedure has deceived even some Catholic critics. Writing as he did twenty years after Reusch, and more than seven decades after Mendham. Mr. Putnam was clearly bound to take account of the results of more modern researches and had no right to accept his authorities as reliable and fair without a thorough sifting.

In forming our estimate of Mr. Putnam's work we shall not take the point of view of a Catholic, though the Catholic position in this matter is surely the only true and correct one; but we shall base our opinion on the rules of historical criticism. Were Reusch himself still among the living, and were he asked to review *The Censorship of the Church of Rome,* there can be no doubt that his judgment would prove severer even than ours. More than half of Mr. Putnam's work is composed of excerpts from Reusch, which he has disfigured by the most ludicrous blunders in bibliography and Church history.

It is apt to inspire confidence in the reader when he finds that an author presents the results of his researches with cock-sureness. But even the tyro will demand that new finds should be as clearly and surely proved from unexceptionable documents as they are put forth. Mr. Putnam gives us an example of such cock-sureness in the very first paragraph of his first chapter. It must impress the reader favorably that he is able to tell when and under what circumstances the censorship of the Church began. According to Putnam (I, 1), "Church censorship may be said to have begun as early as 150, with an edict issued by the Council of Ephesus in which the *Acta Pauli* (an unauthenticated history of the life of St. Paul) was condemned and prohibited." Our author had announced the same dis-

covery, though in somewhat more cautious language, already a few pages before, in his Preface, where he speaks (p. v) of "the more noteworthy examples of censorship during the earlier centuries of the Church (a list which begins with a curious prohibition in 150, probably the earliest instance of censorship by a Church council)...." Hence Mr. Putnam knows precisely the year *in* which, the council *at* which, and the edict *by* which the *Acta Pauli* were condemned and prohibited. This is indeed a most valuable discovery. Unfortunately our author fails to tell us where he made it and by what documents it can be substantiated. We get another more detailed account of this discovery on pages 58 sq.; but here, instead of giving his sources, or merely repeating the statement made in the Preface and in chapter I, Mr. Putnam flatly contradicts his own previous account. After telling us positively, on page 1, that Church censorship began with an edict of the Council of Ephesus in 150, (a statement which in the Preface is set down as merely "probable,") he proceeds to inform us on pages 58 sq., that "150 A. D. (about) a synod of bishops of Asia Minor, meeting either at Ephesus or at Smyrna, prohibits the *Acta Pauli*.... This action.... appears to be the first recorded instance of ecclesiastical censorship of a work classed as heretical or at least as not authentic." Which is quite a different version, and withal a more probable one. Putnam here quotes Tertullian and adverts to the discovery in 1904 of the Coptic manuscript of the *Acta Pauli*. He drew the information from an article of Professor Shahan in the *Catholic University Bulletin*, January 1905. But though this article was written in his own native English, he has even here used his source carelessly. He says that the *Acta Pauli* were prohibited "as heretical or at least as not authentic." While this is perfectly clear to one who knows what was the question at issue, we may justly ask: what does "not authentic" and "not.... authentic record" in this connection mean to Mr. Putnam or to the average American reader? Why does he not say plainly that there is question here of a Biblical apocrypha,—a book which, deceived by its author, the credulous populace attributed to St. Paul, and which in consequence was apt to be considered as forming part of the canon of Holy Scripture? Had he gone into this matter more carefully, Mr. Putnam would doubtless have run across a certain paper called the Muratorian fragment, which is really one of the first documents of which we know in connection with the censorship of the Church—one of the germs of the later "Decretum Gelasianum," which no student of the history of the Index can afford to neglect. Be it remarked, by way of elucidation, that among the "libri non recipiendi" of the first Christian centuries the apocrypha took first rank, either as containing heresies, or simply

because they were not canonical. And what we know for certain about the condemnation of the *Acta Pauli* in the second half of the second century, makes it appear more than probable, even if we had no more detailed information about the action of the Church with regard to heresies and heretics since the days of the Apostles, that this condemnation was *not* the beginning of Church censorship.[2]

Curiously enough, Mr. Putnam, who is so cock-sure about the beginnings of ecclesiastical censorship, shows himself poorly informed on the subject of the Index at present in force. We have already noted that in his Preface he refers to "the latest [Index] in the papal series" as "the second Index of Leo XIII," and that he gives 1900 as the year of its publication. In his introductory chapter he recurs to this latest Index, about which he tells us (p. 6): "The series of papal Indexes from time to time has been continued, the latest bearing date 1899 [*sic!*]; but the compilers of these later Indexes content themselves with repeating the general rules or principles by which the reading of the faithful should be guided [and yet it is precisely "the latest Index" which abolishes all former general rules, even the ten laid down by the Tridentine Council, supplanting them by the bull "Officiorum et munerum"!] .... The proportion of books absolutely prohibited becomes smaller, the greater number of the works cited being placed in the lists of *libros expurgandos,* [*sic!*—There is only one general list of forbidden books; there is no separate list of *libri expurgandi!*] the reading of which is forbidden only until certain corrections or eliminations have been made, *donec corrigatur.*"

In matter of fact, there has not been prohibited for the past forty years a single book *"donec corrigatur;"* all the books prohibited by the Index during that period were prohibited absolutely. So far as I am aware the last prohibition *"donec corrigatur"* was made in 1864 (Mallet); and among about 340 books prohibited by the Index from 1850 to 1864, only ten were prohibited with the clause *"donec corrigatur."*

In other words, the definite statements which Mr. Putnam makes about the later Roman Indexes, especially the latest in the series, are one and all false. And this in spite of the author's claim that he has personally examined these Indexes, and despite the fact that he gives a detailed description of the latest Roman Indexes in the final chapters of his second volume. Does the critic of the *Litterarisches Zentralblatt*[3] mean to mock Mr. Putnam when he says that that gentleman "has personally examined the greater number of the Indexes to which he refers"?[3]

[2] Cfr. Hilgers, *Die Bücherverbote in Papstbriefen,* Freiburg 1907, p. 11.

[3] *Supra,* p. 3.

Mr. Putnam continues (p. 6): "The Index of 1884 and that of 1899 bring forward from the more important of the preceding papal Indexes the titles of the most noteworthy of the works condemned in these." There is no "Index of 1884"; nor is there an Index "of 1899." The last Index preceding that of Leo XIII (1900) was published in 1881 (resp. 1880); it was reprinted, with the addition each time of a brief appendix, in 1884, 1887, 1890, 1891, and 1893, until all these appendices were finally united into one in the edition of 1895. But even if we substituted the Indexes of (1880—)1881 and 1900 for the non-existing ones of 1884 and 1899 in the above quotation from Mr. Putnam's work, the statement would still remain incorrect. For all Indexes without exception up to 1900 simply repeated the former prohibitions; in that of 1900 all former prohibitions antedating the year 1600 were left out, and, furthermore, a considerable number of former prohibitions was simply cancelled.

Mr. Putnam speaks of the beginning of Church censorship as positively as if he were in possession of the edict of the Council of Ephesus of A. D. 150; on the latest Indexes, which he must have had before him as he wrote, practically all his statements are incorrect and misleading.

Need I adduce any more proofs for his incompetency? I believe it is scarcely necessary; yet lest I be accused of founding my unfavorable estimate of *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* on insufficient evidence, I will point out a few more blunders that are even worse than those already noted.

First let me remark, parenthetically, that Mr. Putnam is delightfully nonchalant in citing his authorities. Thus he writes (I, 57 sq.): "The German historian Schmitz is, however, of opinion that this so-called edict of Domitian was apocryphal." Were Mr. Putnam quoting the German historian Leopold von Ranke, or Johannes Janssen, we should have a right to demand that he give his full name and the title and page of the particular book in which such and such a statement is made. What are we to do with "the German historian Schmitz"? The American reader will be tempted to echo the proverbial query of the native of Cologne (where Schmitz is a name of very frequent occurrence): "Was für ein Schmitz?—Which Schmitz do you mean?"

As a rule Mr. Putnam does not give references. It would not look well to quote Reusch ten or twelve times on every page. The passage *ad annum* 399, (I, 59,) e. g., is one of a number that necessarily require a reference to Reusch, *Der Index*. We shall explain the reason why. On page 9 of his first volume Reusch, after quoting an edict of the Emperor Arcadius, dated 398, says that at that time the penal paragraphs of the Roman law against magic books were applied in

an aggravated form against forbidden heretical writings. He cites in Latin the paragraph of the Roman law referring to "libri magicae artis." Mr. Putnam blandly converts this paragraph into a new edict of Arcadius, issued in 399; and to make the curio still more precious, describes both edicts as being the result of the first two councils, of which the former was held as early as A. D. 325, long before the time of Arcadius. Reusch speaks of the two edicts of 325 and 398, and says of them that they were occasioned by the decrees of the first two general councils. Putnam writes (I, 59 sq.): "398. The Emperor Arcadius issues an edict ordering, under penalty of death, the destruction of the books of the Eunomians." Again: "399. Arcadius issues an edict ordering the destruction under penalty of death *(humiliores capite puniuntur)* of all books of magic art. These edicts of Arcadius were the result of the action of the first two councils of the Church. It seems evident that the extreme penalties prescribed in the Roman law for those who should use or distribute books of magic were, under the influence of the ecclesiastics, utilized for the repression of their theological opponents."

Mr. Putnam himself will have to admit that these two paragraphs of his offend not alone against Church history. What would Reusch, that severe critic of the Roman Index, have said if he had lived to see his statements thus wofully distorted?

We beg leave to repeat that this is only one out of many similar specimens which we could adduce did space permit. A page farther on (I, 61) Mr. Putnam says:

"446. Pope Leo I issues an edict ordering destruction of the books of Porphyry and of Origen, and the writings of the Nestorians, the Manichaeans, the Eunomians, the Montanists, the Eutychians, and all others which were antagonistic to the Christian religion, and which were not in accord with the teaching of the Synods of Nicaea and Ephesus. The prohibition reads: 'Whoever owns or reads these books is to suffer extreme punishment.'"

Here we have a veritable nest of errors, as the curious reader may see by looking up Reusch I, 10 sqq., and Fessler, *Censur und Index* (Freiburg 1869), 133 sqq.

Mr. Putnam follows up this bunch of errors with a nosegay of blunders. After attributing to Pope Gelasius (A. D. 494) the publication of "the first papal Index," he ascribes to the same Pope a new decree made in 496. In matter of fact both statements refer to the famous "Decretum Gelasianum," which was later embodied in the still more familiar "Decretum Gratiani." Putnam writes quite seriously (p. 61):

"496. Pope Gelasius issues a decree, published at a council of Rome, and confirmed in a decree of Gratian....."

Unfortunately he gives us no information about this Pope or Emperor Gratian, who "confirmed" the decree of Gelasius I. There was an emperor of that name, but he lived in the fourth century (ca. 350). *Pope* Gratian is an altogether new figure in Church history. The real author of the famous "Decretum Gratiani," I need hardly add, was an Italian monk of the twelfth century.

I will cite one more example. I, 62, Mr. Putnam says:

"692. The Council of Trulla issues an edict ordering the burning of certain histories of the martyrs, which had been produced in versified form." He gives as his authority in a foot-note: Mansi, xi, 582. On page 63 he adds: "787. The second Council of Nicaea issues an edict ordering the destruction of certain 'falsified utterances of the Martyrs' which had been prepared by 'enemies of the Church.'"

Here Mr. Putnam makes two separate decrees out of one decree of the Synod of Trulla (A. D. 692), ascribing the second to the second Council of Nicaea (A. D. 787), although this council dealt with a different class of prohibitions. Secondly, the decree of Trulla is not in Mansi, xi, 582, where we find an altogether different one, made by the Synod of Constantinople (A. D. 681). The decree of the Synod of Trulla, of 692, is given by Mansi xi, 972. Last but not least: Mr. Putnam's "certain histories of the martyrs, which had been produced in versified form" are quoted by Reusch (for it is from Reusch, not Mansi, that Putnam has lifted the passage) as follows (I, 12): "Die trullanische Synode von 692 verordnete das Verbrennen von erdichteten Märtyrergeschichten."—"Erdichtet," though it is derived from the same root as "Dichtung," poetry, means "invented," "fabricated," "fictitious," "counterfeit." Mr. Putnam by a touch of his magic wand makes *poetry* out of *fabrications* or *forgeries!* In some other book, possibly Fessler, *Censur und Index* (p. 137), Mr. Putnam found the Trullan decree of 692 translated into German as follows: "Die von den Feinden der Wahrheit fälschlich ersonnenen Märtyrer-Geschichten sollen verbrannt werden." Immediately afterwards Fessler speaks of the Nicaean Council of 787. This evidently misled our author into stating that in 787 "certain 'falsified utterances of the Martyrs'.... prepared by 'enemies of the Church'" were ordered to be destroyed by the second Council of Nicaea. "Fälschlich ersonnene Märtyrer-Geschichten," of course, does not mean "falsified utterances of the Martyrs," but fictitious stories about martyrs!

In view of these facts we leave it to our readers to decide whether Mr. George Haven Putnam deserves to be congratulated, as the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York has congratulated him, "upon the singular wisdom, breadth and thoroughness with which he has executed a most delicate and difficult task."

III

Mr. George Haven Putnam has written on *Authors and their Public in Ancient Times* and *Books and their Makers in the Middle Ages;* which would naturally lead one to suppose that he is an authority on the subject of books and book-making, both ancient and modern. *The Censorship of the Church of Rome,* however, does not bear out the supposition. Let us give at least one flagrant example.

Mr. Putnam seems to have a predilection for Nicholas Eymeric. In his "Bibliography" (I, xix) he lists Eymerics's *Directorium Inquisitorum* and frequently reverts to it in the course of his narrative. The index at the back of volume II of *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* contains no less than five references to Eymeric and his writings. We must quote the passages at least in extracts:

Vol. I, p. 23: "A 'Directory' of heresy was prepared early in the 16th century by Nicholas Eymeric of Cologne, under the title *Directorium Inquisitorium* [!]. This was reprinted in Venice in 1607, *cum commentariis Francisci Pegnae.*"

Vol. I, p. 69: "1378. Gregory XI, as a result of a denunciation by the Inquisitor, Nicholas Eymeric, condemned two hundred propositions...."

Vol. I, p. 85: "About 1520, Nicholas Eymeric brought into print in Venice, under the title of *Directorium Inquisitorium* [!] a list of books classed as heretical. It does not appear under what authority this classification, or condemnation, had been arrived at, but the list proved of importance in the history of the Index, as the titles collected by Eymeric were utilized for the famous catalogue of Lutzenberg, which itself served as the basis for the Louvain Index of 1546."

Vol. I, p. 121: "The chief original authority for the system of the earlier Inquisition is the *Directorium Inquisitorium* [!] of Nicholas Eymeric, who was Inquisitor-General for Castile in 1316. Eymeric left among other works, the manuscript of a *Liber Sententiarum,* or Book of Judgments, which presents the early rules of procedure."

Vol. II, p. 23: "Towards the close of the 14th century, Nicholas Eymeric, who won fame as a strenuous inquisitor, secured the condemnation of a long series of books including some twenty works by Raymond Lully and several of Ramon de Tarraga." In a note there is this reference: "Lea, *Religious History of Spain,* 19".

Even a tyro will be apt to marvel at this *Spanish* inquisitor of *Cologne on the Rhine,* whose pernicious activity extended from the thirteenth far into the sixteenth century, enabling him to prepare as early as 1316 a "'Directory' of heresy" under the title "*Directorium Inquisitorium,*" which became "the chief original authority for the

system of the earlier Inquisition" [1200—1300?] and which he "brought into print in Venice," "about 1520."

Historians will be surprised at the discovery of two hitherto unknown medieval books by the famous Nicholas Eymeric: a *Directorium Inquisitorium,* which Mr. Putnam, the bibliographer, describes as "a list of books classed as heretical" [an altogether new Index of forbidden books!], and a *Liber Sententiarum,* according to Mr. Putnam a "Book of Judgments, which presents the early rules of procedure" [of the Inquisition]. Or does Mr. Putnam perhaps mean to intimate that his references are to three different Eymerics,—one "Nicholas Eymeric, who was Inquisitor-General for Castile in 1316;" the other, "a strenuous inquisitor" "towards the close of the 14th century;" and the third, "Nicholas Eymeric of Cologne early in the 16th century"? It is possible that Mr. Putnam has even discovered several *Directoria Inquisitoria* written by different authors, to which we should then have to add the *Liber Sententiarum* or "Book of Judgments." But in that case, how are we to combine his incoherent accounts?

Let me put an end to the confusion by stating the facts of the case. There is but one Nicholas Eymeric, Nicolaus Eymericus, a Spanish Dominican, inquisitor and author, who lived in the fourteenth century, was very active as an inquisitor and wrote much. Of all his writings—with the exception of a life of St. Raymond of Pennafort (Rome 1601)—only one was ever printed—not, as Mr. Putnam says, "in Venice," "about 1520," but in the year 1503 at Barcelona; not under the title of *Directorium Inquisitorium,* but under the title of *Directorium Inquisitorum.* Eymeric wrote this work at Avignon about 1376. It was so widely read that Denifle, in a paper which he contributed in 1885 to the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte* (I, 143), was able to list no less than twelve different manuscript copies of the same, which he had discovered in various libraries in Spain, Italy, and Germany. The true title of the book indicates the nature of its contents. It is a directory *for inquisitors.* Hence it is (1) no "'Directory' of heresy;" (2) not "a list of books classed as heretical;" and (3) no "*Liber Sententiarum,* or Book of Judgments;" —although the *Liber sententiarum* mentioned by Mr. Putnam is no doubt identical with the *Directorium inquisitorum,* and although this *Directorium* among other things also contains chapters treating of forbidden books.[4] For the reason last mentioned this work is an important authority for the history of ecclesiastical censorship. It was re-edited by Peña, long before 1607, viz. in 1578; again in 1587 at Rome; again in 1591 at Venice; again in 1597 at Rome, and finally once more in 1607 at Venice. Having been edited so frequently, it

[4] In the edition Venetiis 1607, see pages 89 sqq.; 308 sqq.

is not such an exceedingly rare book that Mr. Putnam, had he seriously tried, could not have obtained a copy of it. But even if it had been impossible to procure a copy, it would yet remain an indelible bibliographical disgrace for a twentieth-century American scholar, who proudly poses on the title page of his latest production as the author of several pretentious works on books and book-making especially in the Middle Ages, to offer to his readers such a bibliograpical hodge-podge as is contained in the above-quoted passages from Putnam.

I have spoken above[5] at some length of the "Bibliography: Works cited or referred to as authorities" (Vol. I, pp. xvii—xxiv), of which Mr. Putnam tells us in his Preface (I, ix), that it "includes also.... the titles of certain other important works having to do with the subject of censorship," although the author "did not have occasion or opportunity to make citations" from them. This "Bibliography," as we have already shown, contains a considerable number of titles which have no bearing on the subject whatever. Among other entries we find there e. g. the following:

"Eymeric, Nicholas. *Directorium Inquisitorum.* (Venice, about 1520.) Ed. by Pegna, Venice, 1607."

But the reader will search in vain for such titles as these: Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (I, 709 sqq.); Nicolaus Antonius, *Bibliotheca Hisp. vetus* (II, 186); Hurter, *Nomenclator* (II[3], 710 sqq.). The passages cited in brackets, and other Catholic reference works,[6] would have furnished Mr. Putnam most valuable information about Eymeric, his life and works. Mr. Putnam does not even seem to be acquainted with the *Gelehrtenlexikon* of Jöcher (Adelung). Instead, he lists in his Bibliography "Adelung, G. *Gesch. der Menschlichen Narrheit.* Berlin."[7]

Though my critique is already exceeding the space allowed me by the Editor of the Catholic Fortnightly Review, I cannot possibly mention all the curiosities, both bibliographical and pertaining to church history, which are contained in Mr. Putnam's two volumes. Of the innumerable typographical errors which disfigure the work, such as Lutzenberg, Ratramnus of Corbu (p. 65), John of Jaudun (p. 68), etc., etc., etc., I must forbear taking any notice at all.

As we reach the third chapter of Mr. Putnam's first volume we begin to notice on every page that we have before us a clumsy plagiarism of Reusch. If Reusch has a mistake, even though it be but a typo-

[5] *Supra*, p. 7 sq.

[6] Even *Herder's Konversations-Lexikon*, iii, 362 (Eymericus) gives the necessary data.

[7] According to Graesse, *Trésor*, I, 20, the full title of this curious work is: *Adelung*, Johann Christoph. Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit oder Lebensbeschreibung berühmter Schwarzkünstler, Goldmacher, Teufelsbanner etc. Leipzig 1785—1799. 8 vol. in 8vo. (Cfr. *Ersch und Gruber*, I, 405, and *Allgem. deutsche Biographie*, I, 81.

graphical error, Putnam surely has it too. If Reusch (who wrote from 1883 to 1885) quotes some work in an older edition, Putnam quotes the same; with this difference that Putnam frequently blunders by lifting the wrong reference or inserting it in the wrong place.

What is worse: Mr. Putnam does not understand Reusch and consequently draws from the latter's work statements which are not only wrong but ridiculous.

Thus we read, Putnam, I, 65: "The name of Agobardus first finds place in the Index of 1605." There is no Index of 1605. It was not the writings of Agobardus that were condemned in that year, but rather Papirius Massonius' edition of those writings, *with additions,* was prohibited, *donec corrigatur.* Reusch is responsible for the mistake of making the prohibition an unconditional one; but his account otherwise is correct; Putnam has adopted Reusch's mistake and added to it several new ones, so that *his* account of the matter is utterly wrong.

It may be objected that this is after all only a petty error, which ought to be covered with the cloak of Christian charity. But in the first place, the one little sentence quoted contains at least three different and distinct errors; and, secondly, Mr. Putnam has fallen into these errors whilst holding in his hands the Roman Index which proves that he blundered. Moreover, Mr. Putnam's entire work contains so many similar errors and blunders that not a single statement made by him anywhere in these two volumes can be received with implicit confidence.

On the same page (I, 65) "1140. Innocent III orders the burning of the writings of Abelard and of Arnold of Brescia....." Reusch (I, 16) is responsible also for the error in this statement; but Mr. Putnam, before copying him, should have informed himself of the fact that it was Innocent II, and not Innocent III, who ruled in the year 1140, and that Innocent II issued his order in letters dated July 16, 1141.

At the year 1148, Mr. Putnam again slavishly follows Reusch. Reusch (I, 17) cites Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte,* adding a remark of his own in brackets. Mr. Putnam copies the passage and falsely attributes Reusch's words to Hefele! "Hefele speaks of this as the first known instance of an attempt to relieve a text from condemnation by means of expurgation." Hefele says no such a thing, and Mr. Putnam merely proves that he has neither consulted Hefele nor understood Reusch.[8]

Immediately after Mr. Putnam tells us (I, 65—66):

"1209. A Synod at Paris condemns the *Physion* of Amalric (Amaury) of Chartres....."

[8] Cfr. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte,* V², 525 n. 1.

"1209. The Synod of Paris condemns the writings of David of Dinant. It also forbids, under pain of excommunication, the reading of the *de Metaphysica* until it had been expurgated.

"1215. The Lateran Council condemns the same work.

"1215. The fourth Synod of the Lateran condemns.....

"1225. A Synod at Sens passes condemnation on the treatise by Scotus Erigena (written about 860), *De Divisione Naturae.*"

It was one and the same synod of Paris, that held in the year 1210, which occupied itself with Amalric of Bena and David of Dinan, and the writings of Aristotle. This synod did not, however, condemn a work by Amalric, least of all one with such a curious, grammatically inexplicable title as *"Physion."* I presume Mr. Putnam had somewhere read about a work by Scotus Erigena, *De divisione naturae,* or *Peri physeos,* which, transcribed, would read *perifisis* or perhaps *periphysicon.* Possibly he had had a glimmering of the *Physica* of Aristotle. Mr. Putnam does not inform us what book he means when he speaks of *de Metaphysica.* In matter of fact we have to do here with Aristotle's Metaphysics, though the prohibition sounded differently from what Putnam would make believe. The Lateran Council of 1215 is of course identical with "the fourth Synod of the Lateran," and it did *not* condemn "the same work," regardless of what Mr. Putnam may have meant by this phrase.

In reporting the condemnation of 219 propositions by the Bishop of Paris, in 1276, Mr. Putnam (I, 67), assuming a superior air, remarks:

"The judgment states, rather naïvely, that while they were true philosophically, they were false when tested by the doctrine of the Church."

A historian who in good faith proclaims such a proposition as this *urbi et orbi,* exceeds the limits of permissible naïveté. There is nothing true in this sentence except—its contrary!! The propositions condemned by the Bishop of Paris in 1276, were condemned precisely for the reason that they were being argued in the schools on the pretext, or under the pretence, that they were philosophically true, but theologically false. Reusch says this plainly (I, 22); Mr. Putnam has again misread his "chief authority."

Mr. Putnam gives proof of an equal measure of inexcusable naïveté in his assertions about "the great schoolman Thomas Aquinas," the death penalty inflicted upon heretics, and—Archbishop Vaughan (I, 67), whom, by means of a sentence wrenched from its context in the Dublin *University Review,* he endeavors to brand as a naïve fanatic. This one page of his book is sufficient evidence that

Mr. Putnam is absolutely unqualified for the work which he has so naïvely undertaken.

Immediately after making this excursion, Mr. Putnam again gets hopelessly muddled. He says that Gherardo Segarelli was burned with his writings in 1300, and then tells us that these writings were formally condemned by the Council of Vienn*a* [*sic!*] in 1311. All of which is pure fiction. Gherardo was burned neither on account of, nor with, his writings; in fact, he never wrote anything, and his adherents, e. g. Fra Dolcino, were guilty of crimes of an altogether different stamp. (In America they would most probably have been lynched for their misdeeds). The Council of Vienn*e* (not Vienn*a*!), on its part, did not occupy itself with Gherardo Segarelli, but with Petrus Ioannis Olivi. Mr. Putnam proceeds to tell us further down (I, 67), that Pope Sixtus IV, in 1471, "formally approved" these same writings of Segarelli, which had been burnt with their author and then condemned by the "Council of Vienn*a*.". He adds the wise observation that "this appears to be the first instance on record in which a work condemned by one pope has later received the approval of another." In a footnote he gives as his reference: "Döllinger, 334," blandly copying Reusch (I, 24, n. 3). Reusch's reference is to a work of Döllinger's which he had cited a few pages before (I, 18) with its full title. Putnam does not give the title, neither in this note nor anywhere else. The reader, of course, must conclude that the reference is to one of the two works of Döllinger listed in the "Bibliography" (p. xix). But this is impossible, because Reusch quotes the German edition of Döllinger's works, while Putnam uses only the English. Whence we are forced to conclude: first, that Mr. Putnam did not consult the work of Döllinger which he professes to quote; secondly, that he is not familiar with that particular work of Döllinger's, and, thirdly, that he does not know what he is talking or writing about.

On page 73 Mr. Putnam again copies a reference from Reusch (I, 46, n. 4), as follows: "Döllinger, *Beitr.*, ii, 393," despite the fact that the work in question *(Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Cultur-Geschichte der sechs letzten Jahrhunderte.* Regensburg 1862-3) does not figure in his "Bibliography," to which the reader will naturally turn. What does "Döllinger, *Beitr.*, ii, 393" mean to the average American reader?

IV

In the preceding pages I have noted only a few of the numerous errors which disfigure the first seventy pages of Volume I of Mr. Putnam's *The Censorship of the Church of Rome.* If I were to review both volumes in detail, I should have to write two books of equal

size; which is more than my readers can reasonably expect. Hence I will limit myself to pointing out a few of the most glaring blunders that strike my attention as I go along.

Vol. I, p. 77, we read: "1479. Sixtus V authorized the Rector and Dean of the University of Cologne to...." Sixtus V lived a century later than the date given by Mr. Putnam. He was Pope from 1585—1590.

I, 78: "The Bull of Innocent VIII, issued in 1487 and directed to the authorities of the University of Cologne, is described by Hilgers as the first general papal censorship regulation." Mr. Putnam contradicts himself. For the rest, the last-mentioned bull was not addressed, and could not have been addressed, to the University of Cologne. I never made any such statement as that attributed to me by Mr. Putnam. In connection with the passage I have just quoted Mr. Putnam (p. 79), with this reference, "Hilgers, 327," gives a quotation from my work *Der Index,* which is not to be found there on page 327, but on page 409, and has nothing whatever to do with the bull under consideration, which I treat on page 408 and reproduce textually on pages 480 sqq. Mr. Putnam has apparently not even read it. If he had, he would be aware of the fact, expressly noted by me, that the bull commits the censorship of books, not to the universities, but to the bishops.

I, 79: "1491. Niccolo Franco....puts into print in Venice a 'Constitution', which is described as the first printed regulation of the Church having to do with censorship." Reusch (I, 58) does not describe Franco's Constitution in that way, he merely calls it "die älteste Zensurverordnung, die wir aus Italien kennen," i. e., the most ancient censorship regulation of which we have any knowledge *in Italy*. But even this statement is incorrect, as Mr. Putnam himself, *secundum* Hilgers, has shown on page 78.

I, 80, Mr. Putnam speaks of Pico della [!] Mirandola without saying a word about the most important documents to be noted in connection with Pico, viz. the bulls of 1487 and 1493. (See Hilgers, *Der Index*, p. 406; and Hilgers, *Die Bücherverbote in Papstbriefen*, p. 17.) On the same page Mr. Putnam speaks of the bull of Alexander VI, "Inter multiplices," issued in 1501, without any mention of the fact that this document is almost identical with the bull of Innocent VIII of 1487, mentioned shortly before.

I, 81 sq., Mr. Putnam copies his data for 1513 from my work, *Der Index,* 359 sqq.; but he confuses two papal constitutions, that of Dec. 19, 1513, and that of May 5, 1514.

I, 82, Mr. Putnam, *ad annum* 1515, mentions "Albert [!], Archbishop of Mayence." The same name occurs in several other places

and also in the Index at the end of Mr. Putnam's second volume. On page 83 he tells us: "The single German prince who was willing to confirm this Bull was the Elector Albert of Saxony.[9] [!] Unfortunately, Mr. Putnam gives no authorities for this remarkable discovery of a new Elector, nor for the confirmation by this Elector of the Bull of Leo X, nor yet for the implied refusal of all other German princes to follow Albert's example. For the rest, the Bull needed no confirmation from the German princes, and Mr. Putnam should have known this.

On the same page (83) Mr. Putnam ventures to criticize this Lateran bull. He says that "the fatherly zeal for the true faith and for the preservation of the morality of Christendom are, in the wording of this papal utterance, placed in the background, while the main contention is devoted to the assertion of the authority of the pope..." However, we are not minded to take this criticism seriously; for it is quite plain that Mr. Putnam never read the bull which he censures, and that, had he tried to read it, he would not have understood it.

Be it remarked, *en passant,* that what Mr. Putnam reports of Albert, *ad annum* 1515, really happened in 1517, and that both Bishop Paul and Canon Trutfetter were "instructed to act at Erfurt as inquisitors."

I, 82, we also read: "1515. Leo X, in a Lateran council of May 3rd, issues the Bull *Inter Solicitudines*" [!!]. Comment unnecessary. On p. 83 our author continues: "Before the issue of this papal Bull, certain local ordinances had been put into effect for the control of the printing-press...." Mr. Putnam had evidently forgotten what he himself wrote a few pages previously, *ad annum* 1487 and *ad annum* 1501. "This Bull of Leo X," he goes on (I, 83), "served as a model for a long series of future similar ecclesiastical orders." This is incorrect. The bull itself remained in force for a very long period, and it therefore was unnecessary to issue new ones of the same tenor.

I, 84 sq., Mr. Putnam tells us a good deal about Reuchlin and his famous *Augenspiegel.* After referring to the "process" instituted against Reuchlin by the Inquisitor-General, he continues: "Leo X spoke with approval of Reuchlin's writings and forbade their condemnation. In the Vatican Index the name of Reuchlin stands in Class I, all of his works being thus placed under condemnation. In the Index of Paul, are entered the *Augenspiegel, De Verbo Mirifico,* and *Ars Cabbalistica,* and these titles are repeated in the succeeding indexes (excepting those of Louvain, 1546, 1550, 1558)." In

[9] To prove that he is in earnest, Mr. Putnam assigns to "Elector Albert of Saxony" (A. D. 1515) a place in his general index (II, 483), where, besides this Elector of Saxony, and another "Albert, Archbishop of Mayence," he mentions a third Albert, whom he makes "Elector of Brandenburg."

matter of fact Leo X condemned the *Augenspiegel* and approved nothing. "The Vatican Index" is an invention of Mr. Putnam's. Reusch says (I, 62): "Im Ven. steht Ioannes Reuclin," etc., (i. e. "In Ven. stands Ioannes Reuclin," etc.), out of which to him evidently mysterious "Ven.," Mr. Putnam construes "the Vatican Index." Reusch referred, of course, to the Venetian Index of 1554. The first Vatican Index that might possibly be so called is precisely the Index of Paul IV of the year 1559, and in this Index Reuchlin does *not* "stand in Class I." Nor can the indexes of 1546, 1550, and 1558 be called "succeeding indexes" in reference to the Index of Paul IV, which appeared in 1559.

What Mr. Putnam (I, 108) says of the bull of 1487 and the Council of the Lateran held in the year 1516, he has already told his readers on a previous page of his work, and more correctly. Of the bull of Innocent VIII, A. D. 1487, he alleges that "It is entitled: *Bulla S. D. N. Innocentii contra Impressores Librorum Reprobatorum,* and was addressed by Pope Innocent VIII to seven 'governments' as follows: Romana, Curia, Italia, Germania, Francia, Hispania, Anglia, and Scotia. The opening paragraph reads: 'And, therefore, we who hold on earth the place of Him who came down from heaven to enlighten the minds of men, etc.....'" Here we have a veritable gem of historical scholarship. Putnam has two bulls of Innocent VIII of the year 1487, which he describes as "the first general papal censorship regulation." The one to which he refers on page 78 (vide supra) was, as he told us, "directed to the authorities of the University of Cologne." The one with which he is engaged here, on page 108, is "addressed to seven 'governments,'" to which Mr. Putnam adds an eighth. First we have the "government" Romana; second, the "government" Curia—two "governments" which an ordinary mortal would call the Roman curia, or court. For the rest, the bull in question was *not* "addressed .... to seven governments," nor to eight governments, but to all Christendom; it is *not* entitled in the manner which Putnam alleges; nor has it for its "opening paragraph" the words which he quotes.[10]

Mr. Putnam is not satisfied with attributing two censorship bulls to Pope Innocent VIII. On page 288 of his second volume he mentions a third, published in 1486. Of course, this third bull, as well as the second, mentioned before, is a product of our author's imagination; —which fact does not, however, prevent him from entering all three bulls in his general index (II, 495), where he groups them somewhat differently.

Mr. Putnam furnishes another similar specimen of historical erudition on page 111 of his first volume, where we read: "1517. Leo X

[10] For the full text of this bull see my work, *Der Index,* pp. 480 sqq.

prohibits etc." Putnam has copied the passage from Reusch without understanding its import. I, 113, he again copies from Reusch (I, 72): "1524. Adrian VI adds, etc." Adrian VI was dead in 1524 and Clement VII occupied the papal throne. These blunders are Reusch's, a circumstance which does not, however, entirely exculpate his disciple Putnam.

I, 112, Mr. Putnam says: "A Bull of Pius IX makes some modification in these regulations. The excommunication (reserved as papal) comes into effect through the reading of works which are written by heretics or apostates, or which present or defend heresy. But this would not exclude weekly or daily periodicals which might in some of their columns contain pernicious matter." [This statement about weekly or daily periodicals, by the way, is false]. I, 115, Mr. Putnam says: "1869. Oct. Pius IX issues a Bull, etc." Both these passages refer to one and the same bull, the "Apostolicae Sedis"; but it is quite evident that Mr. Putnam has not read carefully either this bull or the "Coenae [!] Domini," to which he devotes several pages of his valuable space.

I may be permitted to remark, obiter, that the most ancient text of the "Bulla in coena Domini" does not date, as Mr. Putnam would have us believe (I, 111 and 116), from Urban V, A. D. 1364, but, as Göller has recently shown,[11] from Gregory IX (1227—1241). "This Bull in its original form (as issued by Urban V in 1364) antedates the operation of the printing-press by nearly a century." Strange! It is only in the sixteenth century, under Clement VII, that the bull "In coena Domini" speaks of printed books. (Cfr. Hilgers, *Die Bücherverbote in Papstbriefen,* p. 18).

I, 109, Mr. Putnam speaks of a bull issued by Leo X (Nov. 1518) "on the subject of absolution." He means indulgences.

II, 434, he refers to the S. Congregation of Indulgences as "the Congregation of Dispensations."

I, 67, he told us much about a council of Vienna (Vienne); II, 293, he expatiates on "the Council of Ten." The council in question is the well-known city council of Venice. But in the index (II, 489) the Council of Ten is enumerated among the ecumenical councils of the Church, together with the Council of Nicea, the Council of Trent, etc. The Council of the Vatican is soberly placed by Mr. Putnam (II, 202) in the year 1867, and "in the Vatican." II, 415, he just as soberly informs us that the infallibility of the pope "became officially one of the dogmas of the Church at the Council of the Lateran in 1870." We are almost tempted to believe that Mr. Putnam

[11] Cf. Göller, Emil. *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie,* I. Rom 1907.

is more at home in the history of ancient and medieval times than in contemporary history.

II, 80, Mr. Putnam transfers Archbishop Precipiano to Utrecht; he was Archbishop of Malines. *Ibidem* he speaks of "a pastoral letter, for instance, of the Vicar-General of Augsburg, issued in 1758," and of "a decree of the Bishop of Turenne" in 1752. The reference is most probably to a regulation for the ecclesiastical province of Turin, issued in 1852.

II, 115: "On the 25th of February, 1570," according to Putnam, "Sixtus V issues his Bull against Queen Elizabeth," despite the well-established historical fact that Sixtus V ascended the papal throne only in 1585 (cfr. II, 506). The same Pope, according to Mr. Putnam (I, 133), in January, 1587, directed the Bull "Immensa" to several universities, despite the fact that the bull "Immensa aeterni Patris," of Jan. 22, 1588, treats of an entirely different subject, viz. the Roman congregations. The letter of Sixtus V to the universities, mentioned by Mr. Putnam, was not a bull, but the brief "Inter multiplices," issued June 20, 1587; nor was it addressed only to the universities of "Paris, Bologna, Salamanca, and Louvain," as Mr. Putnam tells us, adding superciliously in brackets: "The selection of the universities recommended is interesting."[12]

II, 287, we read: "Within a quarter of a century after Luther had begun his protests [i. e., about 1542], the Jesuits secured the controlling influence in matters in Vienna and from this time the relative importance of the university steadily declined." In matter of fact the Jesuits did not establish themselves at Vienna until A. D. 1551—1555, when the university had already declined.[13]

I, 320, Mr. Putnam fuses the Archpriest C. P. Hoynck van Papendrecht of Malines, and the Jesuit Father Wouters into one person—"the Jesuit Father Wouters Hoynck van Papendrecht, Archpriest of Malines."

I, 346, he writes: "In 1643, Urban VIII published the Bull *In eminenti,* renewing and confirming the constitutions of Pius V and Gregory XIII and the decree of Paul V, and forbidding the reading of the *Augustinus.* The publication of this Bull resulted in the production by Arnauld, in 1644 and in 1645, of his *Apologies for Jansen,* and was also the text for the famous *Provincial Letters* of Pascal, which appeared in 1656."—Was the bull "In eminenti" really "the text for the famous *Provincial Letters*"? ?

I, 354: "In 1750, were prohibited the *Pasquille* written by the Jesuit, Ricchini, secretary of the congregation." It is true that Ricchini

[12] Cfr. Hilgers, *Der Index,* pp. 517 sqq.

[13] Cfr. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge,* I. (B. Herder. 1907) pp. 45 sqq.—A. P.

was secretary of the congregation of the Index (and therefore a Dominican), but neither before, nor in, nor after 1750, did he write *Pasquille,* and no *Pasquille* from his pen could therefore ever have been prohibited.

I, 355, our bibliographer and historian writes: "In 1700, was prohibited the *Teatro Jesuitico,* a monograph written against the Jesuits by Le Tellier." Le Tellier was himself a member of the Society of Jesus; the *Teatro jesuitico* appeared when he was eleven years old. By consulting bibliographical reference works Mr. Putnam can easily find out who it was that wrote under the pseudonym Francisco de la Piedad. I warrant him it was no Jesuit!

I, 374, "Thyrsus Gonzalez, General of the [Jesuit] Order," is saddled with a work on moral theology "under the title *Pobabilissimus"!!* On the following page the work of the Jesuit Balthazar Francolinus is ticketed with "the title of *Rigorismus.*" These are truly bibliographical discoveries of the first rank. There are others which I cannot mention for want of space.

I, 374, Mr. Putnam alleges that "Fabri was one of the most noteworthy of the Dominican critics of the Jesuits, and Baron was one of the most learned Jesuit Casuists of his day." By transposing the two names this sentence may be made to contain some sense. Fabri was a Jesuit, Vincentius Baronius a Dominican. We have here not a typographical error, but a wrong translation of the passage in Reusch (II, 497).

The crowning blunder occurs II, 151, where Concina is canonized by Mr. Putnam instead of St. Alphonsus de' Liguori. "Concina," he blandly assures us, "secured canonization, and, in 1871, his name was included in the list of doctors of the Church, being, through this act, associated with St. Athanasius, St. Augustine, St. Bernard, St. Thomas, and other pillars of the Church"!!!

Thus does Mr. Putnam fable through the centuries up to the year 1907, installing and deposing popes and bishops, emperors and electors. He convokes new councils, issues bulls, and discovers new books, ancient, medieval, and modern. I think I have given specimens sufficient of his erudition and research to satisfy any unbiased reader that the author of *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* has not examined the most important documentary sources bearing upon his subject, and that he would not be able to use them, if they were put before him. Yet he has the—courage to publish on the censorship of the Catholic Church and the Roman Index two stout volumes, (at $2.50 a volume), for which he obtains praise from bishops and Catholic reviews, despite the fact that both his volumes are chokefull of errors and blunders so gross that a tyro is sure to stumble over them.

I shall enter upon a few more details anon. For the present I should only like to submit this consideration:

The Roman Index has had more than one severe critic. Even Reusch, who was at least a scholar, treated it roughly. But never yet has the history of the censorship of the Church been so cruelly bungled as it is bungled in these two volumes by Mr. George Haven Putnam. How fortunate that Mr. Putnam is a Protestant critic of the Index, and not a Catholic defender of it! With what infinite scorn would not our opponents treat a Catholic writer who had fallen into one-tenth of the errors and blunders of which Mr. Putnam is guilty! Thus these two volumes on *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* may indirectly become an apologia of the Index; for it surely cannot be a bad cause which is attacked in such a manner.

V

Mr. Putnam makes no pretence to original research. But he might have reasonably been expected to make good use of such primary sources as are accessible to every scholar, e. g., the later editions of the Roman Index. Moreover, if a work of the kind which he has compiled is to be of any value whatever, the secondary sources from which the compiler has drawn must be beyond suspicion. What secondary sources has Mr. Putnam laid under contribution, especially in those parts of his work where he pronounces judgments and poses as a critic? We shall see.

In the beginning of his second volume (pp. 37 sqq.) Mr. Putnam descants upon the prohibition of books written by Jesuits and their opponents. Here again errors are plentiful. Strange to say—for there is no apparent reason for doing it—Mr. Putnam here gives us his formal opinion of the probabilistic teaching of the Society of Jesus. (He speaks of probabilism, the "Probabilissimus" of Gonzalez, the "Rigorismus" of Francolinus, and the "Regni Probabilismus" [he means Aequiprobabilismus!] of S. Alphonsus also in several other places, e. g. I, 374, and II, 151). Where does he get his opinions? From anti-Catholic bigots of the stamp of Mendham and John Poynder. "The author of the *History of the Jesuits*," we read II, 41, "(published in London in 1816, and ascribed to John Poynder) writes: 'The doctrine of probability, our ignorance of the law of nature, and the necessity of actual reflection upon the quality of an action in order to its becoming sinful, are the foundations upon which the moral corruption of the Jesuits is built.' (Mendham, 184.)"

A few pages farther down (II, 43), speaking of the influence of the Jesuits on ecclesiastical censorship, Mr. Putnam blandly reiterates the assertions of Kapp, Sachse, Wiesner, and others, which in my

own work on the Index[14] I believe I have disproved sufficiently at least to make it improper for any serious scholar to revamp them without adducing new documents. Mr. Putnam, however, gives not one authority, either new or old. He simply asserts that: "After the middle of the 16th century, the most important influence working against the freedom of the press and the undertakings of the publishers was that of the Jesuits. Members of the Order secured positions as councellors with the imperial Government in Vienna, with the Elector of Bavaria, and in other Catholic States, and promptly brought their influence to bear to strengthen the censorship regulations. The publication of books lessened or became active almost in direct proportion to the extent of the Jesuit influence in one State or another."

We suppose we shall have to take these statements in a Pickwickian sense, since Mr. Putnam himself refutes them in other parts of his work.

A page further on (II, 44) he says of the Dominicans:

"After the beginning of the 16th century, the Dominicans came into practical control of the censorship operations in Germany, excepting only in Vienna where the influence of the Jesuits prevailed."

Mr. Putnam ought to know that, as inquisitors, the Dominicans were *ex officio* compelled to deal with dangerous books, both before and after the beginning of the sixteenth century, in Cologne as well as in Vienna. He should have known, also, that there were no Jesuits in existence at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and that the first disciples of Loyola did not come to Vienna until the middle of that century. But even if his statement with regard to the Dominicans were quite true, it would not be easy to square it with what the author has said on the preceding page about the Jesuits.

We must not, however, conceal the discovery by Mr. Putnam of at least one new proof for the zeal of the Jesuits in respect of ecclesiastical censorship. I, 319 sq., in describing the Index of Jean Baptiste Hannot, our author says: "The compiler is a zealous member of the society of Jesus." If Mr. Putnam had taken the trouble to inspect the title page of this Index, he would have found that Hannot is designated thereon as a "Recollect". Reusch, who is here, as in so many other places, Mr. Putnam's source of information, distinctly calls Hannot a Recollect and reprints the title of his Index in full and quite accurately (II, 59): "Index ou Catalogue etc..... Par le P. Jean-Baptiste Hannot Recollet, Lecteur en Theologie, etc."

A fine collection of "Geschichtslügen" could be compiled from the diverse statements made by Mr. Putnam apropos of the Jesuits.

[14] Hilgers, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 197 sqq., 309 sq.

We have already noted several of them. The reader will remember, for instance, that he metamorphosed the Dominican Ricchini, Secretary of the S. Congregation of the Index, and Vincentius Baronius, one of the bitterest opponents of the Society of Jesus, also a Dominican, into Jesuits. By way of compensation he enrolled Fabri and the well-known Mexican Bishop Palafox among the Dominicans (I, 356).[15]

II, 42, Mr. Putnam copies from Reusch (II, 342) the statement that "in 1603, Clement VIII ordered the condemnation of a treatise by the Italian Carerius" (against Bellarmin) and adds that "the same Pope caused to be removed from the Index the treatise of Bellarmin which had been condemned under Sixtus V."[16] Both these statements are incorrect. Carerius' book was condemned in the year 1600, and Bellarmin's name had already been expunged from the Index of Sixtus V, when Clement VIII ascended the pontifical throne. Mr. Putnam speaks praisingly of my work *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher;* why did he not consult it? Or why did he not at least make use of the information contained in the latest Index edition of Leo XIII?

The Jesuit Théophile Raynaud, among many other books wrote one to prove that those who died while nursing the victims of the plague, were to be considered as martyrs; Mr. Putnam (II, 40) speaks of a monograph of his (Raynaud's) *"written to oppose the view*[17] that those who died of pestilence were to be held as martyrs."

II, 37, Mr. Putnam informs us that "In 1689, Innocent XI condemns forty-five propositions, cited from Jesuit works; and in 1690, he issues a decree against the Jesuit doctrine of philosophical sin." Innocent XI died A. D. 1689, hence he could publish no more decrees in 1690. Again, what proofs has Mr. Putnam that the doctrine of "philosophical sin" is "the Jesuit doctrine"? His unsupported allegation is worthless. Innocent XI did *not* condemn forty-five propositions in 1689; and the twenty-eight propositions which had been condemned in 1665, together with seventeen proscribed by Alexander VII in 1666, were *not* "cited from Jesuit works." Reusch (II, 497), adding the twenty-eight and the seventeen, speaks of forty-five condemned propositions. Hence Putnam's blunder.

II, 40, Mr. Putnam reports that "Clement X.... found occasion to condemn a number of treatises written in defence of Berruyer's *Historia Populi Dei,"* and then goes on to say: "This work was prohibited in Spain, 1759," and two pages farther on (II, 42): "In 1734, the Congregation prohibited a *History of the People of God* which was the work of Berruyer (1681—1758), a pupil of Hardouin."

[15] Here (I, 356) there is another, very ludricous incidental blunder: Mr. Putnam speaks of "the Lyons edition of *the Bellarmin,"* instead of the Bullarium!!

[16] The Index of Sixtus V, by the way, was never published.

[17] Italics ours.

Berruyer's work was condemned with its three parts, including the author's "Défense de la seconde partie, etc." Its title, of course, is neither Latin nor English, but reads: *Histoire du Peuple de Dieu,* etc. The "number of treatises" which, according to Mr. Putnam, "Clement X.... found occasion to condemn," is nowhere discoverable on the Index. The various decrees proscribing Berruyer's *Histoire* were issued in 1732, 1754, 1757, and 1758; but there was none issued in 1734, and least of all by Clement X, whose pontificate extended from 1670 to 1676! All this information can be found in the Leonine Index.

I, 252, Mr. Putnam, where he treats of Sixtus V and his Index, follows Mendham in quoting as an authority "Gregoris Lati [*sic!*], the biographer of Pope Sixtus." A glance at Reusch (II, 144) would have told our author what sort of a biographer Gregorio Leti is. He is about as weighty an authority for the history of the papacy, as John Poynder is for that of the Jesuit Order.

Such are the "authorities" of Mr. Putnam! Had he only used Reusch more intelligently, he would have escaped many of the blunders into which he has fallen.

II, 36, Mr. Putnam says: "In 1698, Innocent XII issued a general prohibition in regard to the printing or the distribution of the whole group of writings concerning the controversies of the Orders." In a foot-note he gives as his authority Reusch, II, 260 sqq. But Reusch (II, 260 and 271) speaks only, and correctly, of a prohibition of controversial writings concerning the age of the Carmelite Order.

Mr. Putnam (II, 36) condenses Reusch's lengthy exposition of the *donec corrigatur* prohibition of the "Propylaeum" to the *Acta Sanctorum,* into the statement that, "of the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, printed in fourteen volumes," "in Rome only one volume was prohibited;" which statement is partly inaccurate, partly incomplete. Mr. Putnam also fails to mention the by no means unimportant circumstance, that the prohibition referred to in this passage is now entirely extinct. (Cfr. Hilgers, *Der Index,* 110).

A glance at Putnam's index (II, 483 and 502) draws our attention to another mention of the *Acta Sanctorum,* in vol. II, p. 343, of *The Censorship of the Church of Rome.* "Dom Petra," we read there, "one of the learned editors of the *Acta Sanctorum,* writes in 1649...." "*Dom*" Petra, ("cited by Dejob," according to a foot-note on the same page), was surely no Bollandist, and Dejob does not cite him as such.

II, 83, Mr. Putnam adduces a number of French authorities to show that the Roman censorship decrees had no force, and were not accepted, in France. One might marvel at this misinformation, were it not for the fact that it is obviously derived from Reusch (II, 20 sq.) Mr. Putnam, on the same page and the following one, cites within quo-

tation marks certain alleged utterances of Bossuet and Fénelon. In the case of Bossuet he transcribes Reusch's reference, just as in his Bibliography he has transcribed the title of the edition of Bossuet's works used by Reusch. In the case of Fénelon he also gives in his Bibliography the title of the edition used by Reusch: "Versailles 1820—1824," erroneously adding, however, "6 vols." In quoting the passage from Fénelon which Putnam prints on page 83—84 of his second volume, Reusch gave as his reference: "Oeuvres, 13, 51." Putnam could not copy this reference, since according to his own incorrect Bibliography, the edition of Fénelon he pretends to use has only *six* volumes. Hence he omits the reference altogether, though he boldly gives the passage in quotes. But what is worse is that he *misquotes both Bossuet and Fénelon.* If Reusch had given the quotations as Putnam gives them, we should charge him with forgery. In Mr. Putnam's case there is no reason for assuming bad faith.

Bossuet *(Oeuvres de Bossuet,* tome XXVI, Paris 1846, p. 42) writes "au maréchal de Bellefonds" in regard to the Brief of Alexander VII against the Mons translation of the New Testament:

"La bulle, dont vous m' avez envoyé copie, a été publiée seulement à Rome. Nous ne nous tenons point obligés en France à de pareilles constitutions, jusqu' à ce qu'elles soient envoyés aux ordinaires, pour être publiées par tous les diocèses, ce qui n'a point été fait dans cette occasion." Reusch does not reproduce this passage in full and translates the portion which he gives rather freely, though not incorrectly. Putnam (II, 83) goes him one better by quoting Bossuet as follows: "We hold that these constitutions are not binding in a French diocese until (and unless) they have been published by the bishop."

The passage from Fénelon he distorts even worse. Fénelon *(Oeuvres Complètes de Fénelon,* tome 4, Paris 1850, p. 475), in refuting the arguments adduced against the acceptance of the Brief of Clement XI, of Feb. 11, 1703, writes:

"IIIe raison. Il y a dans le cas de conscience un endroit qui donneroit lieu de croire que si le bref est accepté, on convient que l'Inquisition et l'Index sont de quelque considération en France.—Reponse—On n'a qu'à protester contre cet endroit. Ces sortes de protestations sont ordinaires dans la réception des bulles et des brefs..... Il n'y a qu'à dire qu'on ne prétend point reconnoître l'Index ni l'Inquisition."

Reusch (II, 21) translates the last-mentioned sentence into his native German as follows: "....Man braucht nur zu sagen, man wolle durch die Annahme des Breve keineswegs den Index oder die Inquisition anerkennen." Putnam (II, 83—84) transcribes the passage into English thus: "Fénelon says: 'We are not willing through the accept-

ance of a papal brief to acknowledge the authority (for France) of either the Index or Inquisition.'" He gives no reference, for the reason we have indicated above. We think we can spare ourselves the trouble of commenting on this procedure.

VI

More amusing than serious is the blunder which Mr. Putnam makes in connection with the condemnation of Jacques Matter's biography of Swedenborg and the prohibition of Spiritistic writings. Earlier editions of the Roman Index, after the title of this biography, under "Matter", contained the following note: "et libros similia tractantes ex reg. IX. Ind." Reusch (II, 883 and 1182) calls attention to the fact that this note is in the wrong place and that it really proscribed all books on Spiritism. Mr. Putnam (II, 64) naïvely says: "..the prohibition of books on Spiritualism [!] is entered under the term 'matter'." Here again it is quite evident that our author did not take the trouble to look up "the term 'matter'" in any one of the many editions of the Roman Index published since 1864.

It is just as evident that he neglected to consult the Index on Cantù, Gravina, Leva, Rusconi, Torti, Zobi, and Amari, to mention only a few examples taken from a single page of *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* (II, 193).

On the page cited Mr. Putnam heads a section (No. 43): "Italian Writings, 1840—1876," and introduces it as follows: "Of the works by Italian authors condemned during this period, the following may be noted as indicating the policy of the Congregation." Then he gives a list of nine titles of books alleged to have been condemned in the years from 1840 to 1876. Even if there *were* nine titles, and if all nine were given correctly, the selection could by no means be said to be indicative "of the policy of the Congregation" [of the Index]. It is characteristic of Mr. Putnam's scholarship that not one title among the nine is transcribed correctly. Nor is this the worst that must be said of his list. We cannot show it up more effectively than by employing "the deadly parallel":

PUTNAM	THE FACTS
"Lazzeretti, David, *Opuscula omnia quocumque Idiomate edita,* printed in 1876, prohibited in 1878. Lazzeretti represented a mystic school of thought. He had for a time been in favor with Pius IX."	The writings of Lazzaretti were, it is true, condemned in 1878, but they do not belong to the period 1840—1876. They were not "printed in 1876," and were not condemned by the Congregation of the Index, but by the Holy Roman Inquisition.

"Gravina, D. B., *Su l'Origine dell' Anima,* printed in 1870, prohibited in 1875."

This particular Gravina and this particular book of his were never condemned and can be found on no Index. Reusch (II, 1194) expressly states that the book was examined and left uncensured.

"Nuytz, G. N., *Juris ecclesiastici Institutiones,* printed in 1844, prohibited in 1851. In this condemnation, the critics have taken the pains to specify certain propositions which are considered pernicious."

Of the two books written by John Nepomucene Nuytz, one was printed in 1844, the other in 1847. They were both condemned as heretical by a Brief of Pope Pius IX, dated Aug. 22, 1851. Putnam says: "...the critics have taken the pains...."!!

"Zobi, Ant., *Storia civile della Toscana,* 1737—1848, prohibited in 1856."

Zobi's *Storia* was condemned by decree of Sept. 5, 1854.

"Amari, Mich., *Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia,* volume one, printed in 1845, prohibited in the same year. The following volumes of this work escaped condemnation."

Volume one of Amari's works was printed in 1854 and prohibited in 1855.

"Rusconi, Carlo, *La Republica Romana del 1849,* printed in 1849, prohibited in 1850."

Reusch (II, 1197) says: "Already in 1842 there was condemned L'incoronazione di Carlo V. a Bologna by Carlo Rusconi. ...," and adds: "La repubblica romana del 1849, Tor. 1850, 2 vol., and Le emigrazioni italiane .....are not forbidden..." *That* is quite correct and fully borne out by the official Index itself, where we read under "Rusconi, Carlo. L' incoronazione di Carlo Quinto a Bologna. Decr. 13 sept. 1842,"—and nothing else. *La repubblica romana,* by the way, was not printed in 1849, but in 1850.

"Leva, Jus. [!] de, *I Jesuiti e la Repubblica di Venezia,* printed in 1866, prohibited in 1873."

Up to 1900 the Index contained this entry: "*Leva* (de), Giuseppe. Storia documentata di Carlo V. in correlazione all' Italia. Vol. I. Venezia 1864. Decr. 9 Apr. 1866." There also was, and is still upon the Index this title: "*Cappelletti,* Giuseppe. I gesuiti

e la repubblica di Venezia, documenti..... Decr. 14 iul. 1873." Reusch (II, 1197) discusses the two works, written by different authors, on the same page. It was undoubtedly this circumstance that led to Mr. Putnam's confounding them in his list, by combining the name of the one with the title of a book written by the other. The reader will note that he makes "Jus." out of Giuseppe and "Jesuiti" out of Gesuiti.

We may remark, en passant, that since 1900 De Leva's book is no longer forbidden. (Cfr. Hilgers, *Der Index*, 110).

"Cantu, E., *Storia Universale*, printed in 1858, prohibited in 1860."

Cesare Cantù (not *E.* Cantu) wrote and published his *Storia universale* in 1837—1842, and never has any one of the seventy-two volumes of which it consists, or any other work by this author been condemned at Rome.

"Torti, Giov., *Un Abisso in Roma*, printed in 1864, prohibited (by the Inquisition) in 1865."

Mr. Putnam gives the title of Torti's book wrongly. Moreover, it was *not* printed in 1864 and *not* prohibited in 1865. Reusch (II, 1199), by a misprint, says this work was published in 1865. It is listed in the Roman Index as follows: "Torti, Giovanni. Una abiura in Roma nel secondo anno del pontificato di Pio IX; epistole tre. Decr. 20 apr. 1852."

Mr. Putnam's work is designed as an encyclopedic reference work on the Index and the censorship of the Church of Rome. We will not enter upon an enumeration of the many questions regarding the Index, about which it affords no information whatever. But we surely have a right to insist that when it does furnish information, that information be correct and reliable. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

One of the first topics on which the average reader would seek information in a work like this, is no doubt the origin and early constitution of the S. Congregation of the Index. What sort of information does Mr. Putnam furnish on this point?

In the first place he tells us (I, 131) that "in 1571, Pius V instituted the Congregation of the Index..." Seeking for more information we find (I, 254): "The wording of the reference to the Congregation of

the Index [Putnam is speaking of Clement VIII's Index Brief of Oct. 17, 1595] would give the impression that this was here instituted for the first time. Catalani is authority for the statement that the Congregation certainly existed under Gregory XIII and probably as early as Pius IV. Mendham finds authority, as previously stated, for crediting the Congregation to Sixtus V."

Which of these statements shall the inquirer accept? Which one of these five popes mentioned is he to consider as the founder of the Congregation of the Index? Mr. Putnam quotes various sources, quotes Catalani and Mendham, he even cites the Brief of Clement VIII, takes a sentence from another—and that an authentic—source, which, however, he does not give. Posing as a historian who has made researches, he gives us no definite results.

In another part of his work (II, 70 sqq.) Mr. Putnam tells us a great deal about the Bull of Benedict XIV, "Sollicita ac provida," which is reproduced verbatim in the new Index of Leo XIII and therefore easily accessible. We are informed in this Bull, "Certum est autem, sanctum Pium V primum fuisse Congregationis Indicis institutorem" ("It is certain that St. Pius V was the first founder of the Congregation of the Index.") In my own book, which Mr. Putnam frequently consults and quotes, I have adduced, besides other new documents bearing on the establishment of the Congregation, one concerning its foundation, its first session, and the appointment of its first secretary. This document is from the first secretary himself, Antonius Posius, a Franciscan, who says that Pope Pius V established the Congregation in March 1571, that he [Posius] was appointed its secretary on the 22nd of the same month, and that the first session was held on the 27th. (Hilgers, *Der Index,* 10 sq., 510 sqq.) Why, we are justified in asking, does not Mr. Putnam avail himself of such sources? Why does he blindly follow Reusch?

The prohibition of the writings of the Jansenists is surely important material for the historian of the Index. Under the heading "Writings of the Jansenists 1571—1711" Mr. Putnam informs us (I, 351), that "In 1571, Pius V condemned in a separate prohibition a French version of the *Officium pavum* (sic!) *B. M. V.* that had been prepared by one of the theologians of Port-Royal." This is queer news for any one acquainted even superficially with Church history, Jansenism, and Port-Royal. It grows still more remarkable when we investigate Putnam's authority for the statement. Reusch, treating of Jansenistic books of devotion (II, 539), says: "Das von Pius V. in einer Bulle vom Jahre 1571 ausgesprochene Verbot der Übersetzung des Officium parvum B. M. V. in der Volkssprache.... wurde 1651 auf ein von einem Theologen von Port-Royal herausgegebenes Werkchen ange-

wendet...." Anglice: "The prohibition, pronounced by Pius V in a Bull published in 1571, of the translation into the vernacular of the *Officium parvum B. M. V.*, was applied to a booklet issued in 1651 by a theologian of Port-Royal." Mr. Putnam distorts the passage in the manner we have seen above. He would have done better had he passed over such unimportant details and employed his valuable space by giving his readers some reliable information about e. g. the principal Jansenistic work which figures on the Index, the *Augustinus* of Cornelius Jansenius.

Almost as notorious in the history of the Index as the Jansenistic work just named, is the much discussed book *De statu ecclesiae*, which bears the pseudonym "Justinus Febronius." We look up "Febronius" in Mr. Putnam's index, but find nothing; we look under "Justinus," with the same result; we look under "Hontheim;" again our search is vain. Luckily, in scanning the entries under the letter F, we stumble upon the unfamiliar name of "Frevorius, writings of II, 114." We go to page 114 of Mr. Putnam's second volume and there we find the following information: "In 1764, were prohibited under a separate decree of the Congregation, a treatise by Bishop Frevorius, published in 1763...." Who was Bishop Frevorius? Gams mentions no bishop of this name in his *Series episcoporum*. Of course one will also look in vain there for Febronius; for Febronius, that is no secret, was the pen-name of Ioannes Nicolaus Hontheim, auxiliary bishop of Treves. Under this his real name he is plainly listed in the Index of Leo XIII.

To these two samples from the seventeenth and eighteenth century let us add one from the nineteenth. A prohibition widely commented upon was that aimed at two books by Antonio Rosmini-Serbati. What information does Mr. Putnam give us on this case? II, 193, he has adduced some characteristic examples of the works of certain Italian writers condemned during the period 1840—1876. Rosmini is not among them. The index directs us to pp. 410 and 184 sqq. of volume II. On page 410 we find Rosmini in the list of forbidden books which Mr. Putnam claims to have "transcribed in the precise form in which they are printed in the Leonine schedule" (Cfr. Putnam, II, 404, note 1). The entry reads as follows: "Rosmini. *Enciclopedia di science e lettere.* 1889." We are dumbfounded, for this is nothing else than the distorted subtitle of an Italian review, which went under the name of *Il Rosmini,* and which, like another, later periodical of the same kind, *(Il Nuovo Rosmini),* was proscribed by the Roman Inquisition. Both these periodicals had nothing whatever to do with Rosmini (who died in 1855), except that they bore his name and pretended to propagate his ideas. We turn to Putnam, II, 184, and

learn that, among the books condemned from 1848 to 1850, "the following titles may be noted: Rosmini, Antonio, *Die fünf Wünder der h. Kirche,* und *Die Verfassung gemäss der socialen Gerechtigkeit.* Gisberti, V., *Der moderne Jesuit.* Ventura, G., *Discorso funebre dei morti di Vienna,* etc. (The three titles in German are recorded in Italian.)" What is an American or English reader to think of a bibliographer who in an English work quotes the titles of four Italian works, three in German, one in Italian, none complete, and none correctly. The *Discorso funebre* was not pronounced by the "morti di Vienna," but by Ventura "pei morti." The author of *Il Gesuita moderno* is, of course, Vincenzo Gioberti, whose name is not mentioned in Mr. Putnam's index at all.[18] Antonio Rosmini-Serbati wrote no book with the title *Die fünf Wünder* (sic!) *der h. Kirche;* his famous work on The Five Wounds of Holy Church is entitled *Delle cinque piaghe della santa chiesa....,* and is so given in the Index. Mr. Putnam has here once more attempted to follow Reusch (II, 1135). II, 185 sq., he again gives nothing more than a poorly constructed extract from Reusch (l. c.) apropos of Rosmini. And the reason why he tells us nothing about the most important feature of the Rosmini case, the condemnation of Rosmini's theses by the Holy Roman Inquisition, is evidently that Reusch does not mention it—*could* not mention it, because his book was published in 1885.

In my own work on the Index I was compelled to devote some attention to the ignorance and incompetency of the opponents and critics of the Roman Index. I give a number of examples taken from different countries and languages. Mr. Putnam (II, 439) joins me in poking fun at "the mass of errors" propagated by a certain American journalist who had ventured to treat of various questions connected with the censorship of the Church.[19] I can imagine what the reader's opinion of Mr. Putnam and his work must be. I do not care to pronounce a final judgment. But we may well wonder that there are Catholic reviews which unblushingly recommend a work of the calibre of *The Censorship of the Church of Rome.*

VII

At this stage of the proceedings I think it has become quite manifest that Mr. Putnam, with all the numerous "sources" to which he proudly points in his "Bibliography," has not consulted what must be for any writer treating of *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* the most important of all sources—the later and latest editions of the

[18] II, 85, Mr. Putnam calls him Giorberti.

[19] "Hilgers amuses himself, and with justice, with the mass of errors that have been crowded into the few paragraphs cited from the article."

Roman Index itself. I think I can safely say that his failure to study carefully the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* as we now have it, is responsible for the greater number, and especially the more ludicrous, of Mr. Putnam's many errors and blunders.

I, v, Mr. Putnam refers to the Index of 1900 as "the second Index of Leo XIII, the latest in the papal series." I, 6, he mentions "the Index of 1884 and that of 1899." Finally, in the "Schedule of Indexes," II, 481, there are listed three Indexes of Leo XIII, ascribed, respectively, to the years 1881, 1895, and 1900. This makes altogether five Indexes of Leo XIII!

But II, 379, Mr. Putnam tells us: "The two Indexes issued by Leo XIII, the first compiled in 1881 and reprinted in 1884 and 1896 with supplements, and the second in 1900, constitute at the date of this writing (December, 1906) the latest expression of the censorship policy of the Church of Rome. It remains to be seen whether Pius X (who is not credited with any such measure of literary interests as characterized his scholarly predecessor) will undertake the production of any addition to the long series of Roman prohibitory Indexes."

And II, 444, he adds: "At the time of the completion of the proof-reading of this division of my treatise (March 1907), there does not appear to be any prospect of the production, under the direction of Pius X, of any later issue of the Index."

In March, 1907, the new edition of the Leonine Index, issued by order of Pius X, in 1904, was already three years old! It is the third edition of the Index of Leo XIII, (originally published in 1900,) and the title reads as follows: *Index Librorum Prohibitorum Leonis XIII Sum. Pont. Auctoritate recognitus SS. D. N. Pii P. X. iussu editus. Praemittuntur Constitutiones Apostolicae de Examine et Prohibitione Librorum. Romae Typis Vaticanis MCMIV.* (xxiv & 318 pp. 8vo,) Leo XIII himself had issued a second edition of his Index in 1901. But it is the edition of 1900 that is properly called "Index of Leo XIII." Therefore, when we speak of the Index of Leo XIII, this edition of 1900, and this only, is meant, just as we mean the edition of 1559 when we speak of the Index of Paul V, or that of 1758 when speaking of the Index of Benedict XIV.

Previously to 1900, there was but one issue of the Roman Index in the pontificate of Leo XIII. This appeared late in 1880, the title page bearing the date 1881. In addition there were printed, between 1881 and 1900, six separate appendixes: (1) an *Appendix ad indicem novissimum librorum prohibitorum editum anno 1880,* comprising the books condemned from 1881 to 1884; (2) a second supplement containing the books proscribed from 1884 to 1887; (3) a third, giving the titles of all books prohibited from 1887 to 1890;

(4) a fourth, listing the books condemned from 1890 to 1891; (5) a fifth, carrying the list from 1891 to 1893; and finally, (6) a sixth, embracing the previous five and carrying the list up to the year 1895.

The Index of 1880 (1881) was never officially reprinted, and can be called Index of Leo XIII only so far forth as it was published during the pontificate of that illustrious Pope. It differed from preceding editions in one respect only,—all new condemnations were duly registered in their proper places. The Index of 1900 is called "Index of Leo XIII" in a quite different sense, it having been thoroughly revised and overhauled by order of Leo XIII and published as quasi a new work. And of this new Index a second edition appeared in 1901, a third, under the pontificate and by order of Pius X, in 1904, and but lately, since the completion of Mr. Putnam's work, in 1907, a fourth.

Among the editions of the Index entirely unknown to Mr. Putnam—such as those of 1901 and 1904— or about which his information is hazy or inaccurate, are those of 1681 and the years following (I, 325); the decree of Archbishop de Precipiano of Malines, 1695, (I, 320); the *Index ou Catalogue* of the Recollect friar Jean-Baptiste Hannot, 1714 (I, 319), and especially the Roman Indexes of 1590, 1593, 1596 (I, 252, 270, 279; II, 321). The smaller Indexes of the sixteenth century, which I have either found anew or upon which my researches have thrown new light,[20] Mr. Putnam does not notice at all.

In his treatment of the Middle Ages, too, Mr. Putnam omits to mention a considerable number of prohibitions of books of far greater importance than many which he descants upon—even if we abstract from those that exist only in his imagination. While he makes two decrees out of the famous Gelasianum and dates the beginning of the ecclesiastical censorship precisely from the Council of Ephesus, A. D. 150, he has not a word anywhere in his two bulky volumes about the apocrypha listed by Innocent I (A. D. 405) or the famous Muratorian fragment.

His knowledge of the contents of the various Indexes is equally limited. I think I have proved that sufficiently. I am not unwilling to grant him alleviating circumstances so far as the early days of Christianity and even the medieval Church are concerned. But it is impossible to pardon his ignorance on the subject of the Index of Leo XIII which contains the censorship legislation in force at the present day. Mr. Putnam had this Index before him. He devotes many pages of his second volume to a description of its contents. He even copies lengthy passages from its pages. And yet the information he

[20] Hilgers, *Der Index*, 6 sq., 250, 444 sqq., 519 sqq.

gives on the subject of the Leonine Index is utterly erroneous and misleading. This I shall show in the following pages.

Speaking in a general way of the Index of Leo XIII, edition of 1900, Mr. Putnam (II, 380 sq.) says: "This second Index repeats, with a few omissions, the lists of the volumes of 1896, with the addition of certain titles selected from the publications of the intervening four years."

This is a very serious mistake. The Index of 1900 was in many respects an entirely new work. In the first place it omitted all books forbidden in the sixteenth century, (i. e. those condemned by the Indexes of Pius IV, in 1564, and Clement VIII, in 1596). Besides, several different classes of books forbidden from 1600 to 1895 were expunged. They are all mentioned in the preface of the edition of 1900, of which Mr. Putnam says (II, 381) that he reprints the full text. In my work on the Index of Leo XIII, I have devoted a special chapter (pp. 104—114) to these "omissions."

II, 403, Mr. Putnam enters upon a detailed description of the "Lists of the Works Condemned" in the Indexes which he calls "Indexes of Leo XIII."—"In the lists," we are here told, "(as was the arrangement in the earlier Index of Leo) the date of the decree under which the work was condemned is connected with the title of the book." This "arrangement in the earlier Index of Leo," let me remark, was precisely the same as that which had characterized every Index published for over two centuries previously, i. e. since the edition of Alexander VII, A. D. 1664. But in the Index of Leo XIII, properly socalled, viz. the edition of 1900, this arrangement was changed, as is expressly mentioned in the preface and as I have explained in my work *Der Index,* pp. 86 sqq.

Mr. Putnam (II, 403) continues: "The number of entries in the second Index of Leo is about 7,000, practically the same as that in the earlier volume." The gross inaccuracy of this statement can be inferred from what we have said *supra* about the many omissions made in what Mr. Putnam calls "the second Index of Leo."

Again, II, 403 sq., he tells us: "It is with the Leonine Indexes, as with all those that preceded, difficult to arrive at the principle that has guided this selection..... It is not clear on what principle have been selected the works of the 17th century which in the judgment of the Leonine editors were important enough to warrant a reiteration, three centuries later, of the original condemnation." If Mr. Putnam had a true notion of the essence and purpose of the Index proper, or catalogue of forbidden books; if, moreover, he were aware of the relation existing between the general rules of the Index and the catalogue of books nominally proscribed; he surely would not have

penned the lines just quoted. A glance at the "pars prior" of the very Leonine Index, edition of 1900, which he is describing, would have given him the information for which he was looking. I may be permitted to refer him and other curious inquirers on this point to my own work, pp. 68 sqq.

The reader will have noticed the false assumptions contained in the passages above quoted from Mr. Putnam. In preparing a new edition of the Roman Index there is never any "selection." All books previously listed as forbidden are simply taken over into the new edition. To this rule the Index of 1900—not the previous edition, which Mr. Putnam calls "the earlier Leonine Index,"—forms a conspicuous exception. It omits, as we have noted, many of the condemned books scheduled in earlier Indexes, and at the same time states the "principles" according to which the omissions were made. Mr. Putnam (II, 383 sqq.), reprints the whole explanation from the "pars prior" of the Index of 1900, but he has manifestly not understood what he copied. In the case of this Index, too, it is sufficient to know the principles that guided the editors in omitting certain categories of forbidden books; all other prohibited books remain prohibited, and there is no question whatever of a "selection."

II, 404, Mr. Putnam says: "The lists [of the Leonine Indexes] include no works of the heresiarchs, and in fact no titles back of the 17th century. Place has been found, however, for reprinting a number of the prohibitions of the early 17th century, as well as for those of the 18th." After the explanation I have given above, Mr. Putnam will no doubt perceive that this statement is true of the Index of Leo XIII, properly so-called, that is to say, the edition of 1900; but absolutely erroneous if applied to the previous editions of 1880—1881, with its appendices up to 1895. Equally erroneous is what Mr. Putnam, in the passage immediately following the one just quoted, says of the confirmation of the Indexes of 1564, 1596 [!], and 1758.

II, 405—411, Mr. Putnam devotes seven pages to a list of titles, from the Index of Leo XIII, which seem to him "in one way or another typical or which would be likely to prove of interest to the English-speaking readers of today." He adds in a foot-note: "These titles are transcribed in the precise form in which they are printed in the Leonine schedule" (p. 404).

If this means anything, it must mean that this list of titles is accurately copied from the Leonine Index of 1900. In matter of fact, the list contains titles of books condemned in 1898, which are to be found only in the Index of 1900 (not in the edition of 1881 with appendices up to 1895). Mr. Putnam's easy task was, therefore, merely to copy the titles which seemed to him "typical", "in the precise

form in which they are printed in the" Index of 1900. But what do we find?

In the whole list, running through no less than seven pages of his second volume (pp. 405—411), there is not one single title which is "transcribed in the precise form in which [it is] printed in the Leonine schedule"! We have not room to reproduce the whole list, hence shall take only a few titles by way of examples. The first and last are given by our author as follows:

PUTNAM	INDEX OF LEO XIII (1900)
"Abrégé de l'histoire ecclésiastique de Fleury. Decr. 1769."	"ABRÉGÉ de l'histoire ecclésiastique de Fleury traduit de l'anglois, nouvelle édition corrigée à Berne [*Berlin*] 1767. *Decr. 11 aug. 1769; S. Off. fer. V. 1 mart. 1770. v.* Prades, Jean-Martin de."
"Zwicher, G. *Monks and their Doctrine.* 1898."	"Zurcher, George. Monks and their decline. *Decr. 1 sept. 1908.*"

Whence the reader can see for himself that Mr. Putnam, besides curtailing the baptismal name of the author of *Monks and their Decline*, —who is, by the way, an American,—corrupts his surname and misquotes the title of his book. In the other title quoted Mr. Putnam's inaccuracy is apparently not so bad, but in reality it is far worse, and more misleading. There were several editions of Fleury's *Abrégé* in circulation in the eighteenth century, and the essential point here is, (as former Indexes, including that of 1881, tell us), the "mendax titulus mendacissimi operis." It is for this very reason that the title is given so precisely in the Leonine Index, and that the real name of the author and the place of publication are added. Mr. Putnam can obtain interesting and reliable information about this condemned work in Preuss, *Friedrich der Grosse als Schriftsteller,* pp. 94 sqq., and in my work, *Der Index,* pp. 143 sq., 336 sq., 582.

Under A and B Mr. Putnam's list has these entries: "Baronius, Vincentius. Three works. 1672."—"Arnauld Antoine *(fils).* Seventeen works are entered under the name of this Jansenist writer. The decrees are of date 1656—1659."

And these, we are assured, are titles "transcribed in the precise form in which they are printed in thé Leonine schedule." Merely *en passant* let me note that the different works of Arnauld which stand condemned on the Index, were proscribed from 1654—1732, not from 1656—1659.

Mr. Putnam in his list also mentions the prohibition of the

famous *Augustinus* of Cornelius Jansenius. He gives it under J in this fashion: "JANSENIUS, C. *Augustinus,* etc. 1641, 1642, 1654." Not to speak of the "precise form" in which this title is "transcribed" from the "Leonine schedule," we must note that Mr. Putnam has already made the following entry in the same list, under A (II, 405): "*Augustinus.* Janseni., 1654. A condemnation that recalls a long and bitter doctrinal contest." Had Mr. Putnam been conscientious in transcribing his titles "in the precise form in which they are printed in the Leonine schedule," this entry would have read: "AUGUSTINUS Iansenii (utrum sit damnandus)? Nullo iure: I. Quia Iansenius romanus catholicus etc..... Non potest damnari Iansenius nisi ridente Pelagio, plorante Augustino. Humilis Romanus. *Decr. S. Off. fer. V. 23 apr. 1654.*"

According to Putnam, the *Augustinus* of Jansenius is here condemned. In reality, this condemnation is inflicted upon a little pamphlet, written in defense of Jansenius and beginning, without any further title, with the words: "Utrum sit damnandus Augustinus Iansenii? Nullo iure, etc."

Really Mr. Putnam ought to beware of making any more invidious remarks about the ignorance of the editors of the Roman Index! (II, 457).

If we had not learnt to distrust Mr. Putnam, we should perhaps have to close our notice with the saddening thought that such a great theologian and saintly man as Albertus Magnus got on the Index with an obscene book. For we read on Putnam's list II, 405: "ALBERTUS MAGNUS. *De Secretis Mulierum.* 1604." A glance at the Index of Leo XIII, from which this entry is alleged to be a precisely faithful transcription, shows us that the work here attributed to Albertus Magnus was not written by him at all: "ALBERTUS MAGNUS *(pseudonymus)* De secretis" etc.

II, 408, Mr. Putnam tries to make believe that there is on the Leonine Index a work by the great German writer Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, written in French under the title "Religion Saint Simonienne, etc." The Index, under "Lessing", refers us to "Religion saint-simonienne," and there clearly informs us that Lessing wrote, not the work thus entitled, but merely an appendix to the same.

Under T (II, 411) Mr. Putnam intimates that à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* is proscribed by the Index. He gives this entire: "THOMAS KEMPISIUS. *De imitando Christo.* 1723." In matter of fact it was not the *Imitation* of Thomas à Kempis, that was put on the Index, but a certain edition of that book, with an objectionable interpretation by Sebastianus Castellio (*"interprete Sebastiano Castellione."*)

VIII

In conclusion I must say a word on Mr. Putnam's account of the first part *(pars prior)* of the Leonine Index of 1900.

Besides the introductory Brief and the preface, this first part contains the Bull of Leo XIII known as "Officiorum et munerum," together with the general decrees and the "Sollicita ac provida" of Benedict XIV.

Of these several documents the last-mentioned Bull of Pope Benedict XIV, expressly re-approved by Leo XIII, is the most important document of all as throwing light on the spirit in which the censorship of the Church is conducted. It also gives the best authentic explanation extant of the S. Congregation of the Index and its mode of proceeding in the examination and condemnation of books.

Of course, Mr. Putnam could not help noticing this Bull in his work on *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* (see particularly II, 70 sqq.); but his manner of interpreting it is past understanding. Thus he writes (II, 427 sq.):

"The pope retains for himself the official headship of the Congregation of the Index on the ground that the work of this Congregation has to do directly with matters of doctrine. The working body of the Congregation of the Index comprises ten to twelve members with votes, including always a group of cardinals..... The Congregation of the Index has from the outset been conducted under the influence and under the practical control of the Order of the Dominicans. The secretary, who bears the name 'commissarius' and who is always a Dominican, has the general responsibility for the selecting and the shaping of the business of the Congregation."

These statements are all either false or refer to the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, not to the S. Congregation of the Index. Mr. Putnam could have informed himself correctly by reading the Bull "Sollicita ac provida."

I trust I may again be permitted to call attention to the new documents which I have published on the beginnings of this Congregation. They make it clear that the first secretary of the Index was not a Dominican, while on the other hand, one of the most famous secretaries it ever had, Thomas Augustinus Richinius, whom Mr. Putnam (I, 325) calls "Riccini, or Riccius," and whom (I, 354) he stamps a Jesuit, *was* a Dominican and editor of the Index of Benedict XIV, published in the year 1758.

Leo XIII's Bull "Officiorum et munerum," of January 25, 1897, contains the general rules of the Church with regard to books and revokes all previous general prohibitions and regulations. It also

contains the present method of Roman censorship, all other regulations on that subject, with the sole exception of the "Sollicita ac provida," being expressly abrogated. Hence it is wrong to separate this Bull of Leo XIII (not Leo *XII!* see Putnam, II, 381) from the "Decreta generalia," which constitute the very body of the Bull (Putnam, l. c.).

Of the "Decreta generalia" Mr. Putnam gives what purports to be the full text in English, II, 393—403. I have not examined his translation closely and cannot vouch for its accuracy. It will not do to go too much into details, thereby extending what was intended merely as a brief notice of *The Censorship of the Church of Rome,* to altogether undue proportions. But I cannot suppress the query why Mr. Putnam gives these decrees, the most important portion by far of the censorship legislation of the Church, without a word of explanation; as they stand, in their technical phraseology, they must be caviar to the average, especially the non-Catholic, lay reader. My surprise increases when I come to pp. 439—444 of Mr. Putnam's second volume and there light upon an explanation that is not only out of place but, no matter how correct it may have been before the publication, in 1897, of the Bull "Officiorum et munerum," is absolutely meaningless today. The statement which the author quotes from a personal letter written to him, in November, 1898, "by a scholarly American priest," whose name he does not divulge, may be explained on the ground that the "scholarly American priest" in question had not yet heard in November 1898 of the Bull "Officiorum et munerum" published in 1897; but it is positively incomprehensible how Mr. Putnam can in 1906 or 1907 reprint this letter as an adequate statement of "the *present* policy and methods of the Roman censorship," after having himself printed on previous pages of the same volume the text of the Bull of 1897, which completely changed the situation. We have here no doubt the acme of Mr. Putnam's scholarship and research; we are obliged to point it out, because this blunder is alone sufficient to vitiate the whole work, even if it were otherwise reliable and accurate.

Mr. Putnam introduces the passage with these words (II, 439): "The conclusions of the German Jesuit [Hilgers] concerning the literary policy of the Church of Rome as expressed in its latest Index, may conveniently be supplemented by a statement (written in November, 1898) by a scholarly American priest, on the present policy and methods of the Roman censorship. This statement comes in a personal letter to myself and I am, therefore, not at liberty to bring into print the name of the writer."

For obvious reasons the scholarly writer of this letter will probably thank Mr. Putnam for not bringing his name into print; though I

cannot but think that, had the author of *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* made another enquiry in 1906, he would have received an explanation that would have induced him to throw the "personal letter" of November, 1898, into the waste-basket.

The letter begins with an explanation of "the action of the Index," and (II, 440) discusses the 'Ten Rules' laid down by the Council of Trent, of which the writer expressly says (II, 442): "The famous 'Ten Rules' of the Index issued under the authority of Pius IV (1564) are to be interpreted to-day by the Constitution 'Apostolicae Sedis' issued by Pius IX...." Then he cites a long passage from "the *Compendium Iuris Ecclesiastici ad usum cleri,* written by the Austrian Bishop, Simon Archner [Aichner!], Bishop of Brixen, (the sixth edition of which was printed in 1887)..." Mr. Putnam, therefore, is not aware that "the famous 'Ten Rules'" have been revoked; *despite the fact that he himself,* on p. 393 of the same (II) volume of his work, *has reprinted the very clause of the "Officiorum et munerum" in which they are formally and solemnly abrogated!!*—as follows:

"Therefore, after mature deliberation and after summoning the cardinals and a holy council to go over the lists of books[!][21] we have decided to publish the following general decrees, which are made part of this Constitution. The holy council[!][22] will in the future make use of these rules only, and Catholics all over the world must obey them scrupulously. *We decree that these only shall have the authority of law, and we abrogate the 'Rules' published by the order of the very holy Council of Trent...."*[23] (Putnam II, 393).

I think I may now conclude this notice, leaving it to my patient readers to decide whether I have not proved that it would be far better for both Protestants and Catholics in America and other English-speaking countries to have no history whatever of the Roman Index, than the one which Mr. Putnam offers in his two pretentious volumes on *The Censorship of the Church of Rome.*

[21] The Latin text has: "....adhibitisque S. R. E. Cardinalibus e sacro Consilio libris notandis....;" which means in English: "....and having consulted the Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation of the Index...." This specimen passage, by the way, shows that Mr. Putnam's translation is not to be trusted. I repeat, however, that I have not subjected it to close scrutiny.

[22] ".....quibus idem sacrum Consilium posthac utatur unice..." Anglice: "....which the aforesaid holy Congregation [of the Index] shall hereafter use exclusively...."

[23] Italics ours.

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